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# SOCIAL FORCES

*A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation*

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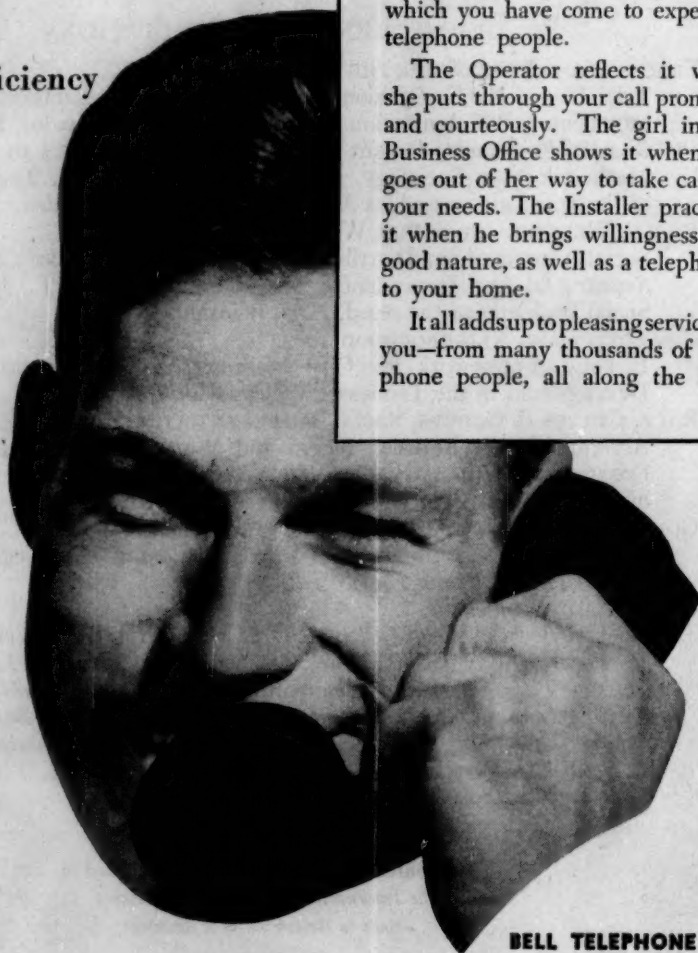
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# SOCIAL FORCES

October, 1947

## THE FAMILY AND SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH\*

ERNEST W. BURGESS

*University of Chicago*

**A** MOVEMENT is now under way to organize a National Conference on Family Life.

The proposal for this Conference was initiated by the large lay groups of the country representing among others the three great religious faiths, Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant; the large labor groups; the various professional associations; and farm organizations. Included also in the Conference are the professional groups engaged in services to families and governmental agencies that are concerned with the family.

The motivation for a National Conference on Family Life springs from the realization that all is not well with the American family and from the recognition of the national importance of strengthening the family in ways that will enable it to discharge its functions effectively in our changing society.

Two questions at once arise in making plans for such a conference: (1) what knowledge is already available upon the American family, and (2) what further knowledge should be secured?

The one aspect of the family upon which our knowledge is the most adequate and accurate is upon family trends. From the study of *Recent Social Trends*, from *Middletown*, from census data, and from other statistical series we are in possession of an abundance of facts such as the following: the American family has been decreasing in size; it has been and is still losing its historic functions, economic, educational, recreational, protective, and religious. It is becoming increasingly urbanized. It is more and more unstable, as indicated by the constant rise in the divorce rate. In 1945, for example, there was one divorce

for every three marriages. These trends, to be sure, are indices of deeper changes taking place within the family that cannot so readily be expressed statistically. Students of the family, however, have attempted to analyze the changes taking place in the conceptions of family relationships. They have expressed them in such terms as the transition from authoritarian to democratic control, from familism to the self-expression of family members, and from institutional to companionship relations within the family.

The value of these trend data is that they give the student of the family and the public alike a sense of the direction in which the family is moving. They tend to refute the pessimist with his dismal foreboding of the disappearance of the family and the social reactionary who proposes to solve the problems of the family by reverting to the old-time authoritarian family with its rigid institutional sanctions.

Other aspects of the family have not been as thoroughly studied. These will now be considered in terms of their promise for research.

First of all, statistical data on marriage and the family need to be improved. We should have information on the characteristics of those who marry as compared with those who do not; of those who marry at earlier and at later ages; of those who are divorced; of those who remarry in comparison with those who do not. Among the characteristics which should be included in marriage licenses and divorce petitions are present and previous marital status, religious affiliation, occupation, education, race, nativity of parents, sex and age of children. These items represent the minima that are urgently needed as basic data for marriage studies. The census through sampling studies could greatly increase our knowledge

\* Read before the tenth annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, Knoxville, Tennessee, April 11, 1947.

of the American family. Public opinion polls have begun to gather data on attitudes toward marriage and the family. Their service might be greatly expanded to the advantage of research in this field.

We know very little descriptively about the American family although we are as human beings immersed in it. Recently I was asked to give the name of the best volume available on the rural family in the United States. I had to confess that there was not a single book on the subject although there are, of course, Zimmerman and Frampton's study of the Ozark family and scattered chapters and articles on the rural family in journals and books. Correspondingly, there is no volume on the urban family, nor on the New England or other regional family. There is, however, the excellent work by E. Franklin Frazier on the *Negro Family in the United States*. This volume suggests the value for the understanding of family life of a series of studies on the family life of the different ethnic groups in this country. At present we know more about family organization and interpersonal relations in societies of the South Seas than of our own culture.

Since family life varies significantly by social class and by occupational groups, it is highly desirable to develop studies which will deal with variations in family life in the different social strata and according to occupation of the husband and in relation to the wife who is gainfully employed or who engages in different types of social and civic activity.

Descriptive investigation of the family should lead, sooner or later, into dynamic studies of interpersonal interaction within the family. At present, psychoanalysis and psychiatrists are carrying on most of the research in this area. They are, however, concerned with the emotional or psychogenic interaction between members of the family and do not adequately take into account the two phases of interpersonal relations of most significance to the sociologist, namely, the way in which the formation and development of the personality of family members is influenced both by cultural conditioning and by the interaction of roles.

The study of interaction within the family should begin with the relations of husband and wife from the moment of their first acquaintance. The sequence of behavior in the interaction of the two persons should be the subject of careful study

in order to determine the way in which the process of interaction is formed and to ascertain, if possible, the direction in which the interaction will proceed. Four significant relationships need to be identified and charted. The first of these is authority, or the locus of dominance and submission in the relationship. The problem is to determine how decisions are made, whether by consensus or by one member of the family or according to the division of responsibility between husband and wife. A second relationship is that of the relative status of husband and wife which may involve initially and perhaps permanently the difference in standing of the families of the couple. You may recall the injunction of the mother in the Ruggles' family in preparing her children for the dinner to which they were invited by Lady Bountiful: "Never forget for a moment that your mother was a McGrill." Or the relative status of husband and wife as persons may be in question and will fluctuate with the achievements and the failure of each. The third relationship is that of relative cultural transmission through the husband or through the wife which results from the fact that at marriage each is already a person with a history. A fourth relationship is that of demonstration of affection which in its meaning for marital interaction involves both the cultural conditioning of husband and wife and the roles which they take toward each other in the marriage relation.

Mate selection is an area of increasing research activity. It divides into two parts. One of these is the study of the conditions involved in the choice of a marriage partner. The other is a study of the factors which make for successful or unsuccessful choice of a spouse.

Studies so far have identified the following conditions. Propinquity in residence, in occupation, and in other social groupings is now recognized to be a limiting factor in the choice of a mate. Only under conditions of extreme isolation is it a decisive factor. Strauss has shown that the ideal mate image which the person holds is also generally a circumscribing factor although occasionally it may be a positive factor. More decisive in determining the person with whom one falls in love are the factors of parental image, or the similarity of the loved one in personality to one's father or mother or both, and personality need, or the way in which the young man and young woman fulfill the emotional needs of the

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other. Finally there is the question for research whether or not persons tend to fall in love and to marry those like or different from themselves. The evidence from previous studies demonstrates convincingly that on many physical, psychological and social characteristics the tendency is for like to mate with like.

While the spade work in research on the process of mate selection is perhaps completed there remain many problems for further research. First of all, how do the different conditions analyzed above actually operate together in the process of falling in love? Why on the average do persons fall in love and marry persons who are like rather than unlike themselves, particularly in personality characteristics? Is there an actual homogamous tendency so that like marry like or do other factors bring about the same result? Why on some personality traits is there no tendency to either homogamous or heterogamous unions? Under what conditions do homogamous and heterogamous marriages turn out happily or unhappily?

This last question brings us to the relatively new area of research now under intensive cultivation by psychologists and sociologists, the prediction of success and failure in marriage. The pioneer predictive studies have surveyed the area, staked out the problems, and introduced the procedures. The successive steps to be taken in marriage prediction studies are not well recognized. First, it is necessary to decide upon a criterion of success in marriage. Second, items of background experience, of personality characteristics, and of behavior are to be correlated with the criterion of success to determine whether or not they are predictive. Third, those items that are predictive are given numerical values, and the sum total of these provides a prediction score for each member of the couple. Fourth, the prediction scores for a large group of couples may then be used in the form of an expectancy table to predict in actuarial form the statistical probabilities that a given person will or will not be successful in marriage.

Much more research awaits the work of students in this field. First of all it is desirable to have many new projects using the same predictive factors as in the pioneer studies undertaken with new groups of subjects from other regions of the country, with different racial and ethnic groups, with different social classes, and in other countries. It is important to find out how far the predictive factors

in a marital adjustment are the same or are different under various economic and social conditions.

A great amount of research is essential in each of the stages of the predictive process. First, the criterion of marital success needs re-examination. The criteria so far used have been limited to permanence of the union, the happiness of husband and wife, an index of marital adjustment, and a satisfaction scale. Other factors also indicative of success are the harmony of the union, the level of expectation of the couple, the social expectation of the community, the degree of integration achieved in the union, the quality of companionship realized in marriage, and the personality development of the members of the family. Perhaps, there is no one best criterion of marital success. Undoubtedly those already in use or proposed are highly intercorrelated. Ultimately, in all probability, investigators in this field will employ several of these and present a profile rather than a composite score.

There is great opportunity to analyze the predictive items into their component elements. On the basis of such an analysis new predictive items could be developed that would represent the basic factors making for success or failure in marriage. Illustrations are attitudes of socialization or domesticity which now may be inferred from certain items rather than being clearly indicated by a sufficient number of questions specifically selected for that purpose. There is room for great progress in determining inductively the fundamental factors affecting success in marriage.

So far predictive studies have been almost entirely statistical. Statistical prediction, as we have seen, is actuarial. It is in terms of probabilities for a group of cases. It does not permit as yet prediction for individual cases. Theoretically, intensive and insightful case studies of engaged couples provide the opportunity for the prediction of success or failure in marriage in individual cases. Interviews presumably provide the data on the configuration of dynamic factors in the relationship. By analyzing the interplay of significant factors it should theoretically be feasible to forecast the success of the union.

So far the theoretical possibilities in clinical prediction have not been demonstrated. At present, prediction by case studies is no more efficient, if as efficient, as prediction by case-study data. There is also the problem of securing uniformity in prediction from case-study data

by different analysts. Especially those of different theoretical backgrounds are likely to differ widely in their interpretations. Analysts, in general, seem predisposed to concentrate upon one or two factors and to minimize or even to ignore the significance of other factors. In spite of these limitations of clinical prediction, it does appear to have the merit of enabling the analyst to perceive the play of forces in the relationship. Even if he can not predict the degree of success in the marriage, the analyst seems to be able to forecast the problems that are likely to emerge in the union. He seems at present to have more insight in identifying these problems than in indicating whether they will be solved successfully. This may, perhaps, be all that should be expected from clinical analysis. It gives an understanding of the relationship on the basis of which therapy may be undertaken.

The counsel of perfection may well be, then, to employ both statistical and clinical prediction, each for its own particular contribution. Prediction from schedule data will provide the assignment of a couple to a precise risk group. Precision in actuarial prediction is gained at the expense, it may be, of understanding the interplay of factors in a given case. Exactness and uniformity of forecasting is not to be expected in clinical procedures, but these disadvantages are compensated for by the perception of configurations of dynamic factors which may make feasible the utilization of therapeutic measures to control trends in the relationship.

The area of conflicts, crises, and accommodations in marriage and family life has also been only partially developed. Valuable for research is the conception that an unsolved conflict tends to be converted into a tension which is much more difficult to treat. In this paper our discussion will be confined to the study of crises which involve conflicts and tensions of such gravity that they imperil the stability and unity of the family.

Three crises which threaten to disrupt the family are: (1) change in status, (2) conflict of its members in conception of their roles, and (3) loss of family members by departure, by desertion, by divorce, or by death.

Change in status may come about by economic reverses, by sudden rise in economic status or by behavior that makes for a marked inflation or deflation in prestige of the family or of some member of it. Subject to intensive study has

been the effect of the depression upon the family. R. C. Angell in his notable work *The Family Encounters the Depression* has presented the best available theoretical framework for research in the effects of the depression upon the family. He makes the valuable distinction between the symbolic structure of the family with its various economic positions occupied by its members and the social psychological structure of the family with its component social roles. He employs Znaniecki's conception of the family as a closed social system as an aid in his analysis.

Angell, as you recall, discovered that the capacity of the family to cope with the depression depended not alone on its integration, but more especially upon its adaptability. This adaptability or flexibility of the family and its members in meeting the depression is perhaps also an outstanding attribute of the family or indeed of any group or society in meeting the crises of social change. We need studies of families adversely afflicted economically in non-depression periods. A sudden upturn in economic and social status may constitute a crisis quite as disruptive as that of economic loss or disgrace. Studies should be made of the conditions under which the family survives or goes to pieces when there is a rapid change from poverty to riches or from obscurity to fame.

Perhaps the significant factor here is whether or not there arise conflicts between the members of the family in their respective roles. Shifts in economic and social status often impinge more directly upon one member of the family than upon the others, bringing him into new social situations and resulting in some new conception of his role. Thus the interne may be happy in his marriage to a nurse with only a high school education during the time she is working to help him complete his medical course. Later she may no longer fit into the picture of his professional career which brings him into the social life of an upper social class clientele. The diversity and complexity of the modern world makes it increasingly difficult to adjust the divergent conceptions of roles of husbands and wives. It is important to find out to what extent conflicts in roles grow out of other difficulties of husband and wife or to what extent they are in and of themselves sources of friction and of crisis. Is the absorption of the wife, for example, in Spiritualist seances, or her insistence upon her own

career, effect or cause of her growing estrangement from her husband?

The conflicts and crises between parents and children should be understood and studied in terms of differences in conceptions of roles. This is obvious in the consideration of difficulties between immigrant parents with their old world culture and their children imbued with new world notions. This point of view is equally pertinent in the study of conflicts between all parents and children. An hypothesis which may be helpful for investigation is that American parents tend to prolong the period of psychological dependence of children upon them and then suddenly demand that they behave as adults. Our society in the transition from a rural to an urban civilization has not made adequate institutional provision for the period of adolescence.

The loss of a family member is generally a crisis whether this occurs by departure of the children, by desertion, by divorce, or by death. Accommodations need to be made. More research is desired into the nature of these different crises and particularly into the conditions under which relatively successful accommodations take place. At present, every family is largely on its own in the making of its adjustments with the help of relatives, friends, and professional assistance, such as is available by the physician, the minister, and the lawyer. Knowledge would be helpful in the training of the members of these long-established professions and in the education of marriage and family counselors who would give full time to the field of family service.

The time is getting ripe for cooperative studies involving the different disciplines concerned with research on sex, child development, marriage, and the family. On many subjects research findings are incomplete or partial if carried on only by the biologist, the psychologist, the psychiatrist, or the sociologist. To some extent, of course, the sociologist or the psychologist may become equipped with the points of view and the techniques of the other. Interdisciplinary training is particularly desirable for research workers in the field of marriage and the family. A few rare persons may indeed become equally competent in two fields. But, in general, the requirements of superior research demand that certain subjects be investigated by teams of research men from the different disciplines.

One subject that should soon be ready for co-

operative research is that of sex. There has been a growing recognition by biologists, psychologists, and psychiatrists that sex behavior is in large part a matter of cultural and social conditioning. Sociologists possess an adequate conceptual framework for the study of sex in personal development, but they have carried through to completion very little research on sex. Individual sociologists have a considerable number of personal documents on sex behavior but they have not utilized these in the development of a systematic and comprehensive sociology of sex. When this has been accomplished, the sociologist will be prepared to join with the biologist and with the psychologist in an integrated study of sex as human behavior in modern society in its biological, psychological, cultural, and social aspects.

The sociologist has as yet taken very little part in studies of child development, which have been almost entirely monopolized by biologists, psychologists, and psychiatrists. Yet he undoubtedly has a significant contribution to make, particularly in cooperative research. The most crucial study here both for its high theoretical importance and great practical value is a well-planned integrative study of identical twins reared apart. Here a truly experimental situation is provided by Nature and Society. The inheritance of the identical twins is identical. Having been placed in different foster homes, the environment is varied. Studies already made indicate the feasibility and the desirability of a further study at the present time which will utilize the conceptual framework and the techniques of all the relevant disciplines. Such an intensive and adequate study would throw light on what traits are genic, psychogenic, or sociogenic. Especially valuable would be the findings on the variations in personality traits resulting from different family configurations, from various cultural situations, and from varying social experiences. The possibilities of education in the home, on the playground, in school, and in the community would be indicated by the findings from a well-planned study.

Other studies which would profit from cooperative research by psychiatrists, psychologists, and sociologists include sibling rivalry, rejection of child by parents, the adopted child, the step-child, sexual adjustment in marriage, personality formation in the family, marital conflicts and accommodations, and parent-child conflicts and



their resolution. In these studies there needs to be differentiated the respective roles of the psychogenic, cultural, and social factors.

These suggestions so far presented for research imply that the family is ceasing to be a self-sufficient economic unit with a uniform, rigid cultural form and is becoming more and more a social psychological unit with a highly variable cultural structure. This means that the stability of the family depends less and less on economic and social factors and inheres more and more in the interpersonal relations of its members.

These considerations suggest that efforts for assuring the security of the family—economic support, health, nutrition, and housing—should be studied in terms of the needs of the emerging companionship family. Housing design for family functions, for instance, needs to be more varied than in the past when requirements were more uniform and standardized than today.

Even more significant for family welfare is research upon the policy and programs of what for want of a better name may be called the family-life movement. It began with an interest in child study but soon expanded to include the family as the central object of concern. The two chief manifestations of this movement are first, the program of family-life education, and second, the rise of marriage and family counseling.

The *raison d'être* both of family-life education and of marriage and family counseling is that the patterns of marriage and the family are no longer provided for in the *mores*. They are no longer transmitted from the past to the present generation. The function of family-life education and of marriage counseling is to disseminate and to make available the findings of research in biology, psychology, and sociology, to families and to their members who feel the need of them in planning the type of family life which they desire.

Studies should be made to determine the extent and the effectiveness of education for family life in the schools, the churches, and other character-building agencies. Research is also desirable on the extent to which professional schools are giving future lawyers, ministers, nurses, and physicians, adequate training for marriage and family counseling which the public expects of them.

Finally research is needed on the relation of the family to society, to its institutions and to the state. The interrelations of the family and society are in the process of change. They need to be redefined and reanalyzed.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that the study of the family is valuable for findings of the highest theoretical significance and of the greatest practical importance. Because of its small size the family facilitates intensive research into the basic processes of interaction: competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation. Since each new family begins with two persons it is a unit particularly favorable for the analysis of the sociology of the dyad. Since the family grows in size it is favorable subject of research of the change in relationships introduced by the appearance of a third, fourth, and fifth member in the group. It presents the opportunity for ascertaining the factors making for and against the socialization of the child in the different rank orders of birth and as affected by the sex of the children.

Although the family is no longer a self-sufficient unit and although it has lost many of its historic functions, it is still a social unit of the highest importance for society, for personality development, and for human happiness. It retains and has the potentiality for further development of its intrinsic functions of the giving and receiving of affection, of informal character training, and of the most satisfying emotional security.

In a changing, complex, and complicated society, the family and its members need the findings of psychological and sociological research. Young people of today are willing to participate in this research. They are not so much asking for advice as for the scientific knowledge which they can use to plan the patterns of family relationships which will give self-expression to the members of the family and promote their personal development. It is the sum total of this enlightened planning and experimentation by individual families that will perhaps play a part in making the findings of research effective in determining future family trends.

## SOCIAL OBSTACLES TO THE ACCEPTANCE OF EXISTING SOCIAL SCIENCE KNOWLEDGE

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**A**PPPLICATION of existing social science knowledge to the amelioration of problems of human relations is hampered by existing habits of thought and action. Curiously enough this resistance is directly proportional to the soundness of this social science knowledge; the principles of human relations inductively derived from empirical research and observation of human behavior are less likely to be accepted by intelligent persons than are prevalent panaceas and superstitions.

At least eight social obstacles\* to the acceptance of existing social science knowledge of a sound nature may be noted: the subject matter of social science (crime, sex, politics, wealth, etc.) arouses emotional reactions and diverts attention from an analysis of the qualities of the objects observed to an expression of how we feel about these objects; a normative set or a value-judgment rather than an impersonal approach to problems of social relations is traditional; the observer is himself a part of the social situation or the social relationships he tries to observe; much significant sociological information has a confidential and privileged character; widespread conspiracies of silence exist and prevent effective decision making about acute problems; unpleasant consequences to minority groups usually follow the application of sound principles of human relationship; much of the subject matter of social science is purely verbal or language behavior and hence seems intangible; and an understanding of the problems of human relations requires concentrated, consistent and sustained mental concentration of a new language which few are willing to learn. Let us now consider in more detail each of these obstacles.

### 1. THE SUBJECT MATTER OF SOCIAL SCIENCE IS EMOTION-AROUSING

Thoughtful leaders of modern communities express concern about such problems of human relations as criminal behavior, juvenile delin-

quency, divorce, prostitution, maladjustment of sex relations, injustice to weaker members of the community such as orphan children and working women and minority race groups, strikes and lockouts, monopoly, cut-throat competition, political corruption and spoils. Now it is a common property of all these problems of human relations that the normal and first response to them is an emotional response rather than an intellectual and an impersonal reaction. Confronted with any one of these problems it is difficult to make impersonal judgments and to take a detached point of view.

Conventional morality and orthodox religion insist upon an attitudinal stance with respect to all these problems and condemn an objective approach. Thus the social climate in which we see these problems tends to reinforce a natural tendency to respond to them with anger, fear, scorn, greed, loathing, pity, affection, sympathy, loyalty, reverence or awe, as the case may be. A curiosity response which seeks to observe, describe and record, rather than to express how the observer feels about the problem, is an unconventional response and excites suspicion and disapproval. A. G. Keller, in stating the contrast between the attitude of the natural science observer towards his subject matter and the social scientist towards his subject matter says, "A man can count the legs of a fly and not have his heart wrung by finding them too many or too few!"

Thus it is that emotion-arousing subject matter diverts attention from the characteristics of the subject matter to a preoccupation with how one feels about this subject matter. And the impartial social observer comes to be regarded as hard-hearted, callous and cynical. As a matter of fact, a cynic is usually merely a bad name that a neurotic calls a realist whom he does not like; and a neurotic is a person whose habits of response tend toward substitute response systems, rather than toward direct response to direct stimuli; and such response systems have self as the center of reference. In the neurotic person, responsibility for his acts and decisions is avoided by

\* Individual obstacles in the pathological mechanisms of abnormal psychology are not specifically treated herein, nor autonomic response systems.

escape into lengthy explanations in which words are used which have no verifiable fact-referents.

## 2. THE NORMATIVE SET AND VALUE-JUDGMENT APPROACH

Emotion-arousing subject matter tends to develop habits of response which either consciously or unconsciously attach "praise" and "blame" to purely natural situations in the community of human relationships. "Who is to blame?" we inquire, and not, "What is the cause?" Use of the pronoun "who" indicates a personal and anthropomorphic explanation based on self-reference. Use of the verb "blame" clinches the matter as one of bad motivation, and thus adroitly shifts responsibility to another. Whereas to ask, "What is the cause?" is to use a less emotional expression, in which the interrogative pronoun "What" refers to a thing and is substituted for a personal pronoun, and calls for selection from an indefinite number of factors. Finally, the noun "cause" is entirely devoid of personal implications, hence is neutral, seems colorless, and is not interesting to most persons.

The value-judgment approach is natural for the masses of people and is the normative approach of the "reformer." But for purposes of systematic and sound knowledge of human relations these uses of language are misleading, since they merely reveal the feelings of the speaker in reacting to the problem and do not describe the problem in transmissible and recordable terms. Although the statements made may be expressed in the grammatical form of assertions of fact they deceive both the speaker and the hearer as to what is really taking place, since value-judgments are expressions of desire, of what is wished for or disapproved, and contain terms which do not describe the qualities of the thing or situation under observation.

But unfortunately normative statements have their own psychological utilities. They provide a simple principle of classification (all things are put into dichotomies) as a substitute for the bewildering variations of real experience. Thus anything is "good" or "bad"; we are favorable to it, or we disapprove it. In an increasingly complex social world the normative categories simplify the adjustment process by reducing the number of verbal signs required in thought or in conversation. They also save the fatigue of critical analysis and close observation to details.

They seem to provide rules which can be relied upon to promote a sense of security in a threatening world. For the slightly more sophisticated, they seem to protect one from the seeming uncertainties of the calculus of probability, with its realistic admission that there can be no absolute precision in predicting events. To try to think through all of these principles is very confusing to the average layman.

## 3. THE SCIENTIFIC SOCIAL OBSERVER IS HIMSELF A PART OF THE SOCIAL PROCESS HE TRIES TO OBSERVE

The student of human relations has few tools of objective observation which are mechanical instruments of precise measurement. He has to resort to words to describe language behavior, and to these words his whole organism is often strongly conditioned from early childhood. Participation in the give and take of the surrounding system of communication rests upon habit patterns that are well established, and with these go an attitude structure which tends to set the approach to screen out those social stimuli which are displeasing. Thus are unpleasant consequences ruled out and painful adjustments avoided. And since each of us has as many roles as the numerous groups with different ends, to which we belong, internal tensions and conflicts are resolved by subdivision of personality into separate compartments, and this prevents a wholesome integration of our selves.

Since the days of the Greek philosophers men have sought to escape the suffocating and all surrounding social climate of conventional morality and tradition by finding refuge of a sort and a certain degree of detachment about human relations which comes from the study of archaeology, history, and ethnology. In the study of the cultures of other times and of different places some appreciation is gained of the recurrence of problems of human relations and of the relativity of the norms used to judge the importance of these problems in any given time and place. Unfortunately this escape into detachment is usually a mere translation from one folk language into another, either as between different periods or different regions. It all remains on the same plane of meaning—nominal meaning. No real emancipation from the folk pattern is achieved. No penetration by aid of semiotic analysis or by social-psychological study is effected. One is



still bound by nominal relationships—by the names given to relationships. It is still assumed implicitly that, since certain words customarily stand for real things, there must be somewhere an existing thing for which every noun stands. The question whether there are terms which merely represent other linguistic forms and never can be shown to stand for an existing thing, is a question seldom raised and seldom faced. Only in recent times has the idea of an operational definition been grasped: the principle that a concept of human relations may be defined in terms of the operations performed in measuring it. Take the concept of "morale," certainly a social concept of some importance in the human relations of both war and peace; it has been only recently that psychometrics and sociometrics have given us a measure of this factor in human relations; and these measures used to implement social policy.

#### 4. THE CONFIDENTIAL AND PRIVILEGED CHARACTER OF MUCH SOCIOLOGICAL INFORMATION

Much sociological information is based upon observations and inferences about particular personal relationships in specific social situations. There are recognizable mechanisms and patterns of individual behavior in social situations which involve ascendance or submission, shyness or boasting, escape into verbal phantasy or courage in facing unpleasant facts, which is learned by long experience in participant observing of social organization. Those who have had extensive practice in committee work, conference procedure and group pressure tactics, develop an insight into human motives and behavior, which is difficult to reduce to measured and quantitative terms but which may none-the-less supply a very effective understanding of what is going on. This shrewdness has much more depth than a superficial "being in the know." Much of this experience involves recognition of "the psychological moment" promptly as it appears; and there is also quite probably an element of good luck in being "on the spot at the right moment." The most effective use of such empirical social knowledge is to exercise it as a "wise counselor" rather than as an "expert," which often is offensive to others, since every man believes that he alone is a good judge of character and can read the signs of the social times with insight and sureness.

Thus the sociologist who is an active participant

in the life of the community and not "an armchair theorist" accumulates a considerable volume of information about specific leaders, their weaknesses and their strengths, which has to be kept confidential since it can be very "dangerous knowledge" to him. In fact, the type of participant observer described can, if he is indiscreet, i.e. voluble and talkative, actually "know too much" for his own good. Now this confidential and privileged character, of some sociological information makes scientific (objective, public) formulations of knowledge difficult, despite the fact that such information may be of real strategic importance. In sound social administration and executive leadership, however, "secret" knowledge is essential to the smooth operation of the social organization. The good executive has to "keep his own counsel" and confides in no one. The essential point is to keep it secret that you have a secret, otherwise such a leader is open to attack, raids and reprisals. Now this kind of social knowledge is far from being scientific, since it is not transmitted or recorded, and yet it may be very effective. Herein we have another obstacle to development of a genuine science of human relationships, since science is essentially public, transmissible and recordable. When an effort is made to objectify such information by the device of anonymity, it tends to lose its authority. Perhaps this dilemma never can be resolved.

#### 5. CONSPIRACIES OF SILENCE

Conspiracies of silence complete the picture and complicate the process of making a decision about acceptance or rejection of the known principles of social science as a rationale for individual and group action, and often take the edge off rational effort.

There are "conventions of good taste" which prevent asking questions that may be embarrassing to another person because such questions are interpreted as prying into his personal affairs. In sociological questionnaires the inquiry is worded to avoid being unduly inquisitorial. Solenberger found in a study of homeless men that the question, "Are you married?" brought answers that seemed to be in smaller proportion than seemed reasonable. When he rephrased the question, "Where is your wife now living?" he obtained a larger proportion of married men in the group investigated. Good taste prevents interference in the affairs of a neighbor or a relative when the evidence clearly

points to the fact that a promising child is being badly spoiled. Conventions for the protection of personal privacy take the forms of rights; freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of religious worship. These have been won at great cost. But their anti-social consequences have seldom been frankly faced.

Often fear of reprisals from powerful and entrenched interests curbs the impulse to expose the existence of undercover political corruption, criminal rackets or even of unethical practices, not so much with the idea of personal safety, as from the knowledge that such an exposure would jeopardize further inquiry and fact gathering. People are hesitant about "stirring up a mare's nest."

Conventions of line organization require reporting only to those next above, not to go over the head of immediate superiors, to be loyal to the organization and its leaders, and can be carried so far as to block new ideas, useful criticism and to thwart self-expression. Such conventions often stand in the way of sociological research and application of existing knowledge about social inventions.

#### 6. UNPLEASANT CONSEQUENCES TO MINORITY GROUPS WHEN SOCIAL SCIENCE KNOWLEDGE IS APPLIED

Acceptance of the methods of social science and application of existing sound knowledge entails disagreeable results. The reason is that these methods and principles supply a rationale for thought and activity which is unpopular with special interest groups.

Economics provides logical statements and reasons why: progressive income and inheritance taxes are a dependable basis of public revenue, and this provokes the wealthy classes; regulation of competition and control of monopoly promote the elasticity and productive capacity of the economic system, and this exasperates certain predatory business interests; responsible leadership in collective bargaining arouses the enmity of inexperienced or racketeering labor leaders; free trade seems to clip the wings of predacious commercial interests who wish to use high tariffs only to protect uneconomic infant industries; wages are not only income but are costs in some other price structure, but any regulation of wages in an inflationary period arouses the resentment of organized labor; etc., etc.

Political scientists have shown the reasons why a merit system in the selection of public servants may provide competence in performance and elasticity in government functions, but this encounters the opposition of political spoilsmen on the one hand and on the other the enmity of entrenched bureaucrats; periodic checks on the quality of food commodities, the safety of buildings and plumbing, the adequacy of fire protection devices, by an adequate and competent staff of inspectors meets the opposition of taxpayers leagues and the hostility of "fixers"; new laws do not eradicate social evils permanently and in short order, but depend on a wide base of public acceptance and conformity to achieve results, which invites the scorn of starry-eyed social reformers and the grumbling of an expectant public; etc., etc.

Sociologists provide logical reasons why: new laws and social inventions to improve social organization do not so much supplant antiquated social machinery as they add to the total of existing regulations, which excites the disbelief and animosity of eager reformers and irritates the public who were given to expect quick relief and a simplification of the pressures of regulatory measures; class prejudice and race prejudice rest upon the insecure foundation of a myth of desired superiority rather than upon the realities of proven inferiority, and this undermines cherished beliefs, shakes the very foundations of the social status system, and is resented as "dangerous" teaching; poverty and crime are not so much what we think they are, as that they are what we think, since in the case of poverty, the higher the standard of living the more ways there are of being poor; and in the case of crime, what for the most part is regarded as crime is a matter of the conventions of a given time and place. Such statements seem to strike at the rock of ages and tend to enrage the orthodox, who see in them a threat to the security of their fondest fancies. Etc., etc.

#### 7. MUCH OF THE SUBJECT MATTER OF SOCIAL SCIENCE CONSISTS OF VERBAL BEHAVIOR—INTANGIBLE AND TRITE

Attention to the immediate subject matter of social science reveals the fact that much of it consists of language behavior, oral or written. There is the oratory of the demagogue; debate which resorts to the dialectic of concepts to win a point rather than to clarify an issue; controversies

over panaceas and pure phantasies, ideological doctrines of a social, political or religious nature; fruitless discussions in committees and in conferences; voting behavior in which many mark a ballot without adequate knowledge of the relative fitness of different candidates for office; editorials in newspapers; journals of opinion, tracts and pamphlets; volumes of advertising matter; etc., etc.

Compared with this the subject matter of physical science, atoms, organisms, and stars, exists independently of language, and in its own right, and with a hard material integrity. It is no wonder then that the corporeal achievements of chemistry and physics tend to blind the masses to the real fact that scientific method rather than the machinery of the laboratory is the greatest value of science.

**8. CONCENTRATED AND CONTINUOUS MENTAL EFFORT IS REQUIRED TO KNOW THAT SUCH CONCEPTS AS INTANGIBILITY, RELATIVITY AND PROBABILITY ARE BASIC TO SOCIAL UNDERSTANDING**

Continuous mental effort and close attention to detail are necessary to scientific understanding of the problems of human relationship; this is the case because the regularities are hidden in intangibility and relativity, and the predictions are in terms of probability.

Unless embodied in a new language of social concepts, the regularities of human relationship are lost within the intangibility of phenomena whose points of reference in space and time are in continual movement so that they elude our grasp and fade away. What is "morale," "public opinion," and "inflation"? To observe, describe, and record these phenomena of human relationship, the folk language of common terms is wholly inadequate. But to gain acceptance of the dependability and utility of operationally defining these social phenomena is to educate the layman in the validity of such systematic methods of study as are afforded by the use of psychometric and sociometric scales, public opinion polls, and the careful application of statistical research. Here we get involved in a special vocabulary of new and strange terms which excite distrust, despite the fact that the public is willing to accept on faith such other terms as isotopes, neutrons, genes carbon rings, etc.

Now the use of psychometric and sociometric scales have given us some population norms.

We can tell, for instance, how much below or above the population norm of morale, a given unemployed person is. We can describe the different opinions on a social issue like price control held by rural and by urban people. And the results of a given election have been predicted within an error of 0.7 of 1 percent from a polled stratified sample weeks in advance of the event. Nevertheless these norms are always relative to a given population in time and place. As yet no universals have been discovered in empirical social science. We are still dismayed by the activities of Russians and Japanese, although we are able to predict the behavior of Anglo-Americans with increasing precision.

This state of affairs irritates the concrete-thinking and practical-minded person no end. He has lived with the habit of mental-effort-saving which relies on dogmatic answers to all questions. Why is not social science knowledge as authoritative as he incorrectly assumes all physical science knowledge to be? Well, we know that real scientists make no such claim, and are in fact most modest, considering their brilliant achievements. But the highly technical character and the great volume of scientific knowledge elicits, as it should, a popular respect, because these attributes implement effective procedures in preventing the spread of disease, in controlling insect pests, in producing stronger alloys, and in the facilitation of mechanical means of communication and of transportation.

By contrast, the knowledge of the social sciences deals with the presumably familiar problems of human relationship, for which the man of the street feels a peculiar penchant. When, therefore, he is told that real understanding of these assumedly obvious relationships requires thinking in terms of a new and specialized language equipped to deal realistically with a world of really intangible relationships, relationships that always seemed to him self-evident, he is inclined to be sceptical of this new language and consign it to the limbo of speculative thought. To be told that a principle of relativity runs through the structure of social knowledge does not seem to provide a stable basis for the determination of social policy, and disappoints all who desire a "settled basis of thought," "solutions" for the acute problems of human relationship, and "proof" of the validity of desired goals of effort. The fact that human problems are recurrent through-



out recorded history despite some differences in culture, and that amelioration of these problems rather than their solution, is about all that the present stage of social knowledge can honestly promise, does not satisfy the natural desire for a permanent security in human relations.

Finally, the acceptance and application of existing social science knowledge, demands some understanding of, or at least willingness to acquiesce in the validity of the principle of probability. Take the case of public opinion polls. Most persons can not believe that these polls based upon interviews with almost mythical persons, because so few individuals have ever known someone who was actually interviewed, do nevertheless collect information which yields surprisingly accurate predictions of election events that occur weeks later. The average congressman is also sceptical or more often prejudiced against such polls, so that he responds to the insistent pressures of special interest groups and lobbies (which represent minorities only) and decides to do away quickly with rationing and price controls, when the facts are that frequent public opinion polls have shown repeatedly that a large majority (70 per cent and over) of the public were willing to comply with such controls and expected gradual relief from them rather than sudden lifting. The result of this failure to base public policy on sound social knowledge scientifically obtained, is the deplorable situation in which the nation finds itself today.

Now what has all this to do with probability? Simply that the modern public opinion poll (the use of which is, by the way, possible only in democratic countries) is based upon interviewing persons who represent all groups of society within the prevailing range of education, income, occupation, and other social stratification factors.

This representation is made dependable by stratified random sampling; and in random sampling, the principles of probability govern the selection of interviewees. Consequently a very small number of properly chosen interviewees will yield dependable results, the reliability of which may be calculated in advance by relatively simple application of the principle of probability; and this assertion is not merely sound in a theoretical sense; it has been proved true by the most stringent test of verification—prediction of results which do happen.

Other applications of the theory of probability are made in sampling studies of other problems of human relationship, and somewhat more technical applications are basic to the whole development of psychometric and sociometric scales used to measure attitudes, opinions, morale, individual adjustment, intelligence, manual dexterity, personality traits and a host of similar instruments of scientific observation which in application remove specific social factors from the limbo of the intangible. Beyond this, there is the whole system of study known as experimental designs, which is beginning to show the way to isolating specific cause and effect relationships from the tangled web of human relationships, and here again the theory of probability plays a decisive role.

#### 9. CONCLUDING COMMENTS

These eight obstacles to the acceptance of existing social science knowledge by no means exhaust the list of barriers to applied sociology; but they may serve to indicate briefly the nature of the complications which are inherent in such complicated phenomena as social relationships, in contrast to the tangibility and externality of purely physical phenomena.

#### JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND FELLOWSHIPS

Edwin R. Embree, President of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, announced that since the Fund is closing its work next June, this is the last year that Rosenwald Fellowships will be available. Awards are made to Negroes and to white Southerners who wish to work on some problem distinctive to the South and who expect to make their careers in the South. Applications for fellowships with all required materials must be submitted in the prescribed form by January 1, 1948. Blanks may be secured from Mrs. Hilde Reitzes, for the Committee on Fellowships, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

## SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN A TIME OF CRISIS

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IT IS generally believed that August 6, 1945, marked a new era in the history of mankind. Albert Einstein has declared, however, that the release of atomic energy has not created a new problem. It has merely made more urgent the necessity to solve an old one. The present crisis serves only to emphasize the need to close the gap between our social "imbecility" and our technological "genius."

The peoples of the world are confronted with the inescapable need for a basic ideological re-orientation. This need derives from the fact that the ethnocentric attitudes characteristic of culture are in irreconcilable conflict with the technological conditions under which we live.<sup>1</sup> How can this conflict be resolved and the necessary re-orientation achieved?

In some areas man has already learned to seek the solutions of problems through the use of science. Part of the explanation of his present difficulty lies in his reluctance to use this same approach to solve his social problems. The present world crisis represents a social problem and its solution is to be found through the use of social science. In this task sociology has an especially important role because of the data with which it presumably deals.

As sociologists we must ask ourselves the question: Can sociology meet this challenge? The answer involves a frank evaluation of the theoretical and methodological adequacy of sociology as a scientific discipline. Let us examine three factors which may prevent our being equal to the task.

## I

First, the futile controversy between the devotees of "pure" science and the advocates of

\* The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mrs. Doris B. Griscom, Sophie Newcomb College, and to Professor L. Guy Brown, Rhode Island State College, for especially helpful criticisms and suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> Emery Reves has developed this thesis in his *Anatomy of Peace* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945). He argues that "Our political and social conceptions are Ptolemaic. The world in which we live is Copernican," and he calls for the shift in theoretical orientation implied by the analogy.

"applied" science has led many sociologists to avoid doing research which could be useful in the applied field. The knowledge-for-knowledge-sake attitude of the so-called pure scientist is a type of bias that we can no longer afford. A mature science recognizes a legitimate and complementary division of labor between these two aspects of its work. After fifty years, and with the history of the older sciences as an example, we should be able to see beyond the fear of being labeled "reformers" and get on with the business of developing the kind of social science needed in these critical times.

An especially interesting aspect of the foregoing controversy is the sterile debate over the relation of science to values. Though the present crisis is essentially a matter of confusion regarding goals or objectives, sociology has no answers with reference to the delicate problem of "norms" or "values" in the philosophical sense. This lack results from the fact that value-judgments regarding the nature of science have prevented us from working on the problem by denying its existence. Herrick has recently observed that science could contribute much toward human adjustment but until now it has failed to do so because of the traditional code of scientists which commits them to a search for abstract truth "uncontaminated by human interest, emotion, or preference." He further remarks that "the dogma, 'Science knows no values' is contradicted by the whole history of science and is an egregious perversion of sound scientific method."<sup>2</sup>

As a matter of fact, the problem of norms is in no way peculiar to the social sciences. The utilitarian value of physical and natural science is taken for granted by practitioners in those fields. It is an interesting example of cultural lag that we continue to hamstring ourselves with an attitude that they have outgrown. Bain has declared that, though it is difficult for the sociologist to speak of "social pathology" without being branded a moralist or an uplifter, no one applies these terms

<sup>2</sup> Judson Herrick, "A Liberal Education," *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, vol. 31, No. 3.

to the medical man who calls typhoid a disease—even when he is trying to cure or to prevent it. "This," he says, "is because there is a clear value-consensus regarding health. Biological science has demonstrated the mechanisms that cause, the therapy that cures, and the techniques that prevent some diseases. This is not the case with the societal ills. *This will remain true so long as there is no scientific societal knowledge.*"<sup>3</sup>

Scientific research in the areas suggested by Herrick would tend to create new norms. How this might occur is best suggested by instances taken from the natural and the physical sciences.

For example, science brought to bear on the problem of adolescent sex behavior has already resulted in a redefinition of attitudes toward masturbation. A similar redefinition of attitudes is under way in the whole field of sex behavior. The accumulating evidence of comparative psychology, anthropology, and sociology is challenging old norms and laying the scientific foundation for new ones.<sup>4</sup>

Our changing attitude toward pain affords a second example. Not so long ago pain as an accompaniment of physical ill-health was considered necessary and inevitable if not meritorious. That attitude no longer obtains and the recent development of demerol is but the most recent stage in the fight against physical suffering.<sup>5</sup>

In contrast, the pre-scientific attitude toward mental suffering still grips us. Here, emotional and mental "pain" is still viewed by many as somehow meritorious and drugs are labeled "escape devices." Who knows what our attitudes will be when a more adequate science of human nature has been developed?

Research on alcoholism is a third example. Mounting evidence is resulting in reconceptualization of the nature of the problem and is

already producing significant modifications in lay notions regarding the alcoholic.<sup>6</sup>

A fourth instance of the initiation of the process of changing "norms" is suggested in the discovery by Professor Alexander A. Bogomolets, R. W. Gerard, and others that it is "abnormal" for the human animal to die at the age of sixty or seventy and that his "normal" life span is nearer one hundred and twenty or one hundred and fifty years.<sup>7</sup>

A final example of changing attitudes is furnished by Julius Yourman in his study of children whom teachers recognize as "problems." "Teachers identify as problems only those children whose behavior is aggressive and disturbing and fail to recognize as problems (indeed frequently consider to be well adjusted) those children whose behavior is of a withdrawing, evasive sort, though viewed with concern by mental hygienists."<sup>8</sup>

Our failure to deal with the problem of ideological reorientation and our implicit acceptance of ethnocentrically determined norms have led to some glaring errors. Three will be mentioned.

The whole structure of Freudian psychology affords a good illustration. It represents the effort to generalize about the nature of human nature on the basis of data derived from one culture and interpreted in terms of negativistic reactions to the norms of that culture. Save for the doctrinaire Freudian the inaccuracy of the results is evident wherever and whenever they are tested by comparative data.<sup>9</sup>

A variation on this theme is provided by Kardiner's interpretation of Dubois' study of the

<sup>6</sup> *Alcohol, Science, and Society*: twenty-nine lectures with discussions as given at the Yale Summer School of Alcohol Studies. New Haven, *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 1945.

<sup>7</sup> Aleksandr A. Bogomolets, *The Prolongation of Life* (Trs. by Peter V. Karpovitch, M.D. and Sonia Bleecker. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1946). Ralph Waldo Gerard, *Unresting Cells* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946).

<sup>8</sup> Julius Yourman, "Children Identified by Their Teachers as Problems," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, V, No. 6, p. 339.

<sup>9</sup> For a recent critique of Freudian theory consult Karen Horney's *Our Inner Conflicts*, especially pp. 11-19, 37-39, and 186-188. See also Arnold Green's "The Middle Class Male Child and Neurosis," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 31-41, and "The Sociological Analysis of Horney and Fromm," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 11, No. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Read Bain, "Sociology and Psychoanalysis," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 208-209.

<sup>4</sup> *Sex and the Social Order* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1946) by Georgene Seward, is a recent and significant contribution to the literature in this field. The work of A. J. Kinsey and his associates at Indiana University also represents comprehensive research in this field. It is soon to be published under the title *Sex Behavior in the Human Male*.

<sup>5</sup> Paul de Kruif, "God's Own Medicine, 1946," *Reader's Digest* (June 1946), pp. 15-18. See also "God's Own Narcotic," *Time* (July 29, 1946).



Alores. The discriminating reader will find it difficult to avoid the conclusion that the empirical data are being fitted into the theoretical presuppositions of the analyst.<sup>10</sup>

A final example is found in the methodologically impeccable but theoretically naive research on *Sex in Development* by Carney Landis et al. The study was undertaken to investigate "the growth and development of emotional and sexual patterns of personality in two groups of women, one normal, the other psychotic or neurotic." The abnormal group consisted of hospitalized psychiatric cases; the so-called normal group consisted of volunteers from various women's organizations. "The normal group was matched as closely as possible to the patients in age; religion; nationality; and educational, socio-economic, and marital status *with the one major exception that they had never suffered from a mental disease.*" (Italics mine) It is somewhat surprising that such an imposing group of specialists should appear so unaware of the problem of "norms" as to commit the error of defining "normality" in such terms.<sup>11</sup>

## II

A second factor which may limit our effectiveness in the present emergency is found in our failure to use, for analytical purposes, the conceptual framework with which we are all familiar. This results in a paucity of the kind of significant research in attitudes that is needed if we are to implement a world community with its accompanying attitudinal redefinitions. A glance at the production of sociologists will support this claim. It is a striking fact that in his training the student of sociology rarely again encounters the basic analytical tools to which he is introduced in his first sociology courses. After all these years we lumber along with clumsy classifications, dull conceptual tools, and crude methodological devices.

For example, it is disconcerting that little has been done to forward Sumner's pioneer work on the folkways, mores, and institutions. The writer

<sup>10</sup> Cora Dubois, *The People of Alor*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944). Despite this criticism, the present writer believes that cooperative research of the sort projected by Kardiner and associates is of utmost importance.

<sup>11</sup> Carney Landis (ed.), *Sex in Development* (New York: Paul B. Holbert [Medical Book Dept., Harper and Brothers], 1940).

knows of no generally accepted classification of these forms of behavior.

Again, a glance at the Dictionary of Sociology will serve to suggest the unrefined character of the concepts we employ. Basic consensus regarding the meaning of our most fundamental concepts simply does not exist.

Moreover, this confusion carries over into the problems of methodology. Lazarsfeld has commented on the recency of the development of a desire for a more rigorous clarification of concepts and awareness of the operations involved in theoretical thinking and empirical research.<sup>12</sup>

In an effort to account for the fact that "so small and doubtful a portion of sociological research is fundamentally scientific," Lundberg accurately summarizes the situation when he says that "The main reason seems to be that there exists for sociology no coherent unity of scientific theory with reference to which research can be undertaken or evaluated. There is no workable set of postulates to guide and organize research. There is a vast amount of common sense generalization about alleged uniformities in social behavior. In the absence of anything more reliable, even these are useful. But they hardly conform to the requirements of scientific theory."<sup>13</sup>

Cultivation of our early insights should have yielded more after fifty years of effort. This apparent inability of sociologists to take their own data and their own conceptual framework seriously stems in part from the inhibiting effects of earlier and essentially ethnocentric types of orientation.

Philosophical and religious orientations inhibit some of us and lead us to suspect that Brandt may be justified when he remarks that science becomes "scientism" when it presumes to study human behavior. Perhaps without realizing it, we tend to share his contempt when he says, "We have even tried to reduce unpredictable and immeasurable man to a science."<sup>14</sup>

Moreover, admiration for the natural and the physical sciences keeps alive the effort to construct a social physics. Awe at the accomplishments of biology has tended to cause biological

<sup>12</sup> Ernest Greenwood, *Experimental Sociology* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1945), Foreword by Paul F. Lazarsfeld, p. ix.

<sup>13</sup> George A. Lundberg, *Foundations of Sociology* (New York: Macmillan, 1939), p. 102.

<sup>14</sup> Joseph Brandt, "I Can't Quite Hear You, Doctor," *Harper's Magazine* (March 1946), p. 248.

explanations to assume a great value in our culture, with the result that sociologists fight the suspicion that the "real" factors determining human behavior are to be found on the biological level.<sup>15</sup>

Furthermore, there is among sociologists the widespread feeling that what we undertake to study represents mere figures of speech. We wonder if such labels as social energy, social interaction, social process, social change, and the social world are actually anything *more* than labels. As a result we hesitate to engage in the usual scientific and legitimate process of abstracting and studying a universe of data. We stand hesitant and perplexed before a demand which we should be able to meet because we are inhibited by these unwarranted doubts. Lundberg supplies the starting point for combating our intellectual paralysis by suggesting that "A taboo, a custom, an ideal—all are real, observable, measurable, and otherwise as susceptible to scientific study as a stone, a table, or a horse. The point is fundamental and must be taken quite literally if we really contemplate bringing societary phenomena within the framework of natural science."<sup>16</sup>

### III

A third factor is confusion as to what the data of sociology really are. A consideration of the two dominant trends now running in American sociology will point up this confusion and our consequent failure to produce much really significant research. It is beyond the scope of this paper to do more than identify and briefly characterize these trends, but this may help to focus attention on the issues involved.

One group might be called the "Naturalistic," "Mathematical," or "Logical Positivistic" School. Represented by Lundberg, Dodd, and, to a lesser degree, by Bain, it has developed a strong following. The point of view may be summarized in a few propositions:

1. The unitary nature of the cosmos is assumed.
2. All phenomena of scientific concern consist of energy transformations.
3. It is possible to develop general laws applicable to both "physical" and "social" behavior.
4. The concepts motion, energy, fields of force, and equilibrium are basic to all science.

<sup>15</sup> L. G. Brown, *Social Psychology* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1934), pp. 8-9.

<sup>16</sup> George A. Lundberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

5. The fundamental elements of analysis are electrons-protons.

6. "The social sciences are concerned with the behavior of those electron-proton configurations called societal groups, principally human groups."

7. The function of science is to develop mathematical formulae that will yield the ability to predict correlations. (Dodd's *S Theory* is one such effort.)<sup>17</sup>

The application of this position results in the attempt to build a social physics. For what Lundberg derisively calls a mentalistic type of analysis we are asked to substitute an analysis conducted in terms of the symbolic technics of mathematics, projected on the basis of an interactional frame of reference, and elementalized into electrons-protons. This represents a revival of omnibus sociology which cannot be expected to be very helpful in dealing with the attitudinal problem of ethnocentrism which is the core of most of our social difficulties, including international conflict. In short, the need for a theory of human motivation is denied.

The other dominant trend is represented by a group that might be designated the "Voluntaristic," "Positivistic," or "Sociopsychological" School. Represented by such men as Parsons, Znaniecki, Lynd and L. G. Brown, it employs an interactional frame of reference, conducts its analysis

<sup>17</sup> George A. Lundberg, *op. cit.*, p. 204. Attention is called to the fact that the sixth proposition is a direct quotation. Because the present writer is in substantial agreement with so much that Lundberg says, he has no desire to appear to misinterpret his position. He agrees with the basic elements in Lundberg's conception of science and with his insistence that science can and must be applied to the study of human behavior. He doubts the present usefulness of the belief that the fundamental elements of *social* analysis are electrons-protons; and, that "the social sciences are concerned with the behavior of these *electron-proton* [emphasis supplied] configurations called *societal* groupings, principally human groupings."

In his recently published *Can Science Save Us?* (New York: Longmans Green, 1947), Lundberg seems to suggest a welcome modification (or clarification) of his theoretical position when he writes: "Can science save us? Yes, but we must not expect physical science to solve social problems. . . . We cannot expect atomic fission to reveal the nature of the *social* atom [emphasis supplied] and the manner of its control. If we want results in improved human relations we must direct our research to the solution of these problems."

in processual terms, and regards attitudes-values as its elementary data. In short, it undertakes to explain human motivation.

This point of view represents both a general and a specialized approach. It is general in the sense that it attempts to develop a body of principles valid for human behavior everywhere. It is specialized in that it is studying a universe of data not comprehended by the natural and the physical sciences. Viewed within this frame of reference, the function of the sociologist is to study the human nature and the cultural results of any experience. These results are the same type of phenomena whether individuals experience geographical, biological, or cultural phenomena, nor need the sociologist be an expert in the field of the objects being experienced in order to study the results.<sup>18</sup>

Sociology would be well advised to go back and pick up the leads suggested by the work of Park and Burgess and the symbolic date of 1918 which marked the publication of *The Polish Peasant*. In such a frame of reference attitudes-values, not electrons-protons, are the social elements; a social theory of the nature of human nature is employed; and social interaction as observed in social situations is the basic phenomenon to be investigated. Thus, the whole battery of familiar conceptual tools, redefined in terms of these basic elements, becomes available for use in meeting the charge voiced by Herrick that even social science has failed because the key factors of human interest and values which motivate conduct have been excluded from the problem in advance of its formulation.

Needless to say, the obligation to objectify and to quantify the results of sociological research is recognized. Proponents of the position just outlined are usually confronted with the objection that human behavior is so subjective, complex, and variable that quantification is impossible. Similar claims were urged by the defenders of the medieval *status quo* when astronomy and physics were getting under way. Any effort to push into unexplored scientific territory is always met with the charge that man is presumptuously overreaching himself.

The foregoing suggests that the crux of the methodological problem is philosophical rather than logical. If we can really convince ourselves

that we have a universe of data to investigate, we shall solve the methodological problems involved—not miraculously and easily, but step by step as they emerge in the course of research. Certainly, the obstacles are no greater in the social than they are in the physical sciences. For example, physicists have discovered that the apparatus employed in the observation of the atom has an intense effect upon the observed particle, since the apparatus itself is made of atoms.<sup>19</sup>

Similarly, the effort to determine visually the position of an electron by means of a beam of light has been found to alter the electron's position. Such facts have led Max Born to remark, "... a necessary consequence of atomic physics is that we must abandon the idea that it is possible to observe the course of events in the universe without disturbing it."<sup>20</sup>

In view of these developments in theoretical physics, neither the alleged subjectivity, complexity, and variability of our data nor the bugaboo of the bias of the observer should again appear as insurmountable research barriers. If even the astronomers recognize the existence of a personal equation which can be computed for observers, which is constant over a period of years, and which can be used in correcting astronomical observations, similar problems should not prove too difficult for sociologists to handle.

In summary, the present situation intensifies the need and the demand for sociological research and gives us little time in which to meet the challenge. The time has come when we can no longer invoke "pure science" as an excuse for sitting back until people beat a path to our door in search of the knowledge which we allegedly possess. Something like the pioneering that laid the foundations of the older sciences is indicated. Perhaps we must stick our necks out and undertake the kind of research that will lend utility to our findings. Alert people are becoming increasingly repelled by the cowardice of social thinkers who, as Rosenstock-Huessey once remarked, deny "that they are impressed and shell-shocked personally by a revolution or a war and turn to statistics describing the buttons on the uniforms of the soldiers or

<sup>19</sup> Ernest Greenwood, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

<sup>20</sup> Max Born, *The Restless Universe* (authorized translation by Winifred M. Deans. London: Blackie and Sons, 1935), p. 158.

<sup>18</sup> L. G. Brown, *Social Pathology* (New York: F. S. Crofts, 1942), pp. ix-x.



list the botanical names of the trees on the parkway where the insurgents fell."<sup>21</sup>

The present situation demands that we come to grips with the problem of developing social norms through scientific research; that we commit ourselves to the use of a conceptual framework adequate to our needs; and that we recognize what our

data actually are. If we fail to do these things, we shall have only ourselves to thank if the peoples of the world turn to charlatans and quacks for the answers they have a right to expect should be supplied to them by social science.

<sup>21</sup> *Out of Revolution* (New York: Morrow, 1938), p. 756.

## EDITORIAL AND COMMENT TO BE RESUMED

Beginning with the next issue, *SOCIAL FORCES* will reintroduce in the Library and Workshop, following book reviews and listings, the department, "Editorial and Comment," which was featured in the first volumes of the *JOURNAL OF SOCIAL FORCES*.

Editorials will be limited, however, to the discussion of sociology and its problems, policies, and prospects. No editorials are contemplated dealing with public policy, or with opinions on current issues, or suggested recommendations and programs for social organization, public administration, education, public welfare, social work.

Early subjects for editorial comment may well include discussions of the sociologists' task of recruiting the best students in competition with the new physical science endowments; the task of providing more fellowships for research and long-time training; special criticisms of sociologists themselves in their particular programs; methodologies and systemization in teaching and research in sociology; the requirements for graduate training and research; and other topics dealing with the range and method of sociology.

A special feature of this Editorial Department will be the invitation for visiting editors. Both a listing of topics and actual editorials will be recommended by the editors, with the understanding that they can be accepted in relatively small numbers and in priority.

### THE EDITORS

# CONCEPTUAL SCHEMATA IN THE FIELD OF SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

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**A**LTHOUGH conceptions of the field of social disorganization vary significantly among the various textbooks, the descriptive content found at present in such books does not vary to the same degree.<sup>1</sup> This fact suggests either that there is no clear theoretical framework for the field, or that whatever theoretical structure may exist has no important consequences for works in the field. A third possibility exists, which does not necessarily negate the previous two: that professional sociologists wish to continue teaching in the field of "problems," while also recognizing by the canons of science they should also maintain, in words at least, that these discussions have theoretical relevance. Consequently, they do offer a theoretical discussion but return nevertheless to the real center of their attention, social problems.<sup>2</sup>

\* The writer wishes to acknowledge indebtedness to his colleagues on the Wayne University Staff for aid in clarifying these conceptual aspects. In particular, thanks are due Norman D. Humphrey, Melvin Tumin, H. Warren Dunham, Henry A. Baker, and Frank Hartung.

<sup>1</sup> Compare, for example, Lawrence G. Brown, *Social Pathology* (New York: Crofts, 1942); Mabel A. Elliott and F. E. Merrill, *Social Disorganization* (2d printing, New York: Harper, 1941); H. A. Phelps, *Contemporary Social Problems* (rev. ed. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1940); J. M. Gillette and J. M. Reinhardt, *Problems of a Changing Social Order* (New York: American, 1942); Harry E. Barnes, *Society in Transition* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1941); Carl R. Rosenquist, *Social Problems*, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1940; Stuart A. Queen and Jeanette R. Gruener, *Social Pathology* (rev. ed., New York: Crowell, 1940); J. Ford, *Social Pathology* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1939); and Howard W. Odum, *American Social Problems* (rev. ed., New York: Holt, 1945).

<sup>2</sup> The motivational reasons for the interest of social scientists in social problems may be sought, of course, on several levels. They range from the fact that some processes of the society impinge personally and directly on the scientist himself; that certain processes seem to be crises or crucial areas for study, given the scientist's position as a bearer of his culture; to the fact that many of these problems can be shown to be theoretically relevant to the main core of sociological knowledge. For

If, however, one investigates the implications of these conceptions of the field, it is seen that they point to concretely different types of discussions. Viewing these approaches in terms of methodology, theory or technique allows a more adequate judgment as to the course to be pursued in advancing the science itself.<sup>3</sup>

## THE APPROACHES

The main approaches or definitions considered here may be briefly characterized as: (1) individual prejudices; (2) social problems; (3) social pathology; (4) culture lag; and (5) social disorganization or *anomie*.<sup>4</sup>

*Individual Prejudices.* This approach, while not acceptable in such terms to professional sociologists, is nevertheless recognized in the more cynical circles as a frequent one. The biases of the individual scholar or interest group will some-

a discussion of the backgrounds of those who write such texts, see C. Wright Mills, "The Professional Ideology of Social Pathologists," *Am. J. Soc.*, XLIV (1943-44), 165-180. Mills also suggests possible factors in the existence of the low level of abstraction in such materials.

<sup>3</sup> This paper makes the usual distinction between methodology, theory and techniques: Methodology is here considered "the general grounds for the validity of scientific propositions and systems of them" (see Talcott Parsons, *Structure of Social Action* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937, pp. 23-4). Theory is a body of interrelated general concepts and propositions with an empirical reference. "Techniques" refer to the more specific tools of research such as interviews, case studies, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Another approach has been suggested from time to time, one which might be called *psychiatric*. However, to the author's knowledge, no textbook has systematically incorporated this idea. See Ralph Kramer, "The Conceptual Status of Social Disorganization," *Am. J. Soc.*, XLVIII (1942-43), 164-174. Note also Reed Bain's definition in his "Sociopathy and World Organization," *Am. Soc. Rev.*, IX (1944), 128, including the categories of both neurotic and psychotic. Note, however, the incisive rebuttal suggested by Theodore Abel, "Is a Psychiatric Interpretation of the German Enigma Necessary?" *Am. Soc. Rev.*, X (1945), 457-64.

times define the particular object in the field to be studied, simply because in precisely the area of social science analysis lies the core of one's prejudices, and the process of objectivizing one's investigations is never complete. As a consequence, the follower of special groups such as the W.C.T.U., the anti-vivisectionists, the Ku Klux Klan, etc., may find a "problem" where his colleagues may find none at all.

In terms of methodological limitations, it is clear that such an approach loses its scientific basis by being predominantly value-judgmental, both in definition and solution of the problem. In addition, the problems selected will be highly variable from one investigator to another and may have no connection with the main area of theoretical problems. However, it must be countered that by virtue of being a carrier of the common culture, the individual will center his attention mainly on problems which are also considered problems by the larger group.

*Social Problems.* This, then, leads to Social Problems. In terms of content, "what the society disapproves" coincides closely with the usual "problems"<sup>5</sup> studied by investigators of social disorganization, e.g., crime and juvenile delinquency, family disorganization and divorce, personality disorganization and mental disease, suicide, etc. This is a more generalized and integrated set of "prejudices" than the individual approach, but of course is subject to considerable cultural relativity as the social definition changes.

In spite of this variability, however, the approach is not necessarily value-judgmental. The sociologist's own values do not play a necessary part in the definition, and the values of the society can be "treated as things." Instead, the central value structure of the society defines the problem

area. This is in accord with an objective definition of the field. Likewise, its variability is merely an expression of the cultural relativity which is an integral part of the sociologist's basic knowledge.

Further implications may be noted. Since this is definitely based on the central value structure, the investigator has automatically defined for him a lesser set of problems, if he wishes to relate the study to general theory. As a preliminary, he may study how the society actually defines a given problem, including deviations, exceptions, degree of seriousness of the value, and so on. To analyze the types of solutions either offered or tried by the society, historical and cross-sectional studies are in order, and these in turn are subject to study in view of the chief values. If his interests lie in "social engineering," the sociologist may suggest other solutions in terms of their efficiency in better solving the problem under the value assumptions given. In addition, this approach can be easily related to the general problem of the interaction of value clusters or complexes (e.g., family and religion), pressures on value structures in the process of social change, and variations in group belief with regard to these values among others.<sup>6</sup>

Yet it must be recognized by the sociologist that in a strict sense, following the theoretical analysis emphasized by Durkheim and generally accepted in the field, none of these major problems is ever "solved." In a statistical and predictable sense, crime, prostitution, suicide, family disorganization, etc., cannot be eradicated in modern society, just as corresponding problems in other societies cannot be eliminated. They are resultants of empirically observable if not analytically understood processes of social deviation, pressures

<sup>5</sup> E. G. Phelps, *op. cit.*, p. 3: "They are handicaps to the achievement of that which a society chooses to call 'normal social life'." This definition of the problem area clearly plays a large role in the implicit conception of the field, as found in textbooks, but has also been recognized explicitly in various definitions. See Edwin H. Sutherland, "Social Pathology," *Am. J. Soc.*, L (1944-45), 429-35; Willard Waller, "Social Problems and the Mores," *Am. Soc. Rev.*, I (1936) 922 ff. Waller admitted his debt to L. K. Frank, "Social Problems," *Am. J. Soc.*, XXX (1925), 462-73. Note further, Louis Wirth, "Ideological Aspects of Social Disorganization," *Am. Soc. Rev.*, V (1940), 472-482, and Richard C. Fuller and R. R. Myers, "The Natural History of a Social Problem," *Am. Soc. Rev.*, VI (1941), 320-328.

<sup>6</sup> It seems hardly necessary to note that current discussions in such texts do not often go beyond ordinary description. This point has been noted among sociologists generally. Mills suggests (*loc. cit.*, pp. 166-7) that the low level of abstraction in the face of existing structural frameworks is partly due to the "relatively homogeneous extraction and similar careers of American pathologists," as well as the fact that they were teachers, mainly at the college level. Sutherland (*loc. cit.*, p. 430) does not explain the backgrounds of pathologists, merely commenting that there is a minimum of abstraction, and a maximum of the commonplace. Of course, individual researches on particular aspects of many "problems" have penetrated far beyond such a level.



and definitions. As Durkheim put it, they are "normal" for the society.<sup>7</sup>

*Social Pathology.* The attempt to define the field in terms of a physiological analogy involves the difficulties which any analogy entails. Its theoretical weaknesses become apparent as soon as one attempts to develop the analogy beyond the superficial level. It involves the assumption that we have observed a "healthy" society and therefore can recognize a societal or cultural disease when we find one. The approach also contains implicit value judgments as to what the society *ought* to be, or do, as well as to the nature of the personality which that society develops. As a consequence, any implications which it has for general theory are those which vitiate the scientific character of the investigation.

Actually, brushing aside this "approach" is better justified on another level: no such approach seems to exist in recent textbooks, even with reference to the theoretical sections.<sup>8</sup> That is, the implications of the concept in its literal meaning are not applied even with reference to a theoretical definition.

Of course, if one could define a part of the social process as abnormal, it would be a legitimate object of study, precisely for the same reasons that make the field of pathology important for physiology: one obtains thereby a more complete picture of the empirical range of activity open to the organism. In point of fact, however, contributions under this heading remain within the general descriptive field of "problems." It

<sup>7</sup> Emile Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method*. Trans. by S. A. Solovay and J. H. Mueller (Chicago: U. Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 51, 55-60. Waller also notes (*loc. cit.*, p. 923) the fact that many of these social problems "spring from the very nature of the social organization; and in no imaginable sense from disorganization."

<sup>8</sup> Thus Brown, *op. cit.*, p. x., uses the term only "because the person is a social-organ-physiological unity," and later states (p. 368) "any cultural pattern is a social problem when human nature characterized by disorganization is being expressed through it." Similarly (p. 365) "... there is social disorganization when the interactive in relationship between human nature and the social order is operating in a predominant fashion through patterns of social disorganization like war, economic exploitation, racketeering, vice, and revolution..." See also Durkheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-55 *et passim*. Sutherland comments, too, that the term is being supplanted (*loc. cit.*, p. 429).

is thereby seen that the *implicit* theoretical basis may be the same in that cultural weakness or "pathology" is a phenomenon or pattern which is disapproved by the society itself.

*Culture Lag.*<sup>9</sup> A widely used approach to the field of social disorganization is that of culture lag. This has been stated in several forms, of which most can be reduced to two main forms. These two are distinguished primarily by a difference in their theoretical sophistication and abstractness.

The less sophisticated version emphasizes a dichotomy of culture into material and nonmaterial elements, the greater speed of change in the former creating a "lag" or strain.<sup>10</sup> The more sophisticated version suggests a similar "lag," but between cultural elements.<sup>11</sup>

This approach involves difficulties on both technical and theoretical levels. The less sophisticated form falls into the frequent weakness of concrete description: it fails to solve a sociological problem on the sociological level, transforming "necessary" circumstances into "sufficient" explanations, i.e., failing to observe a distinction between different emergent levels.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Because polemics concerning this concept have appeared so frequently in the professional journals, the treatment here is condensed considerably. A few such discussions may be mentioned: James W. Woodard, "Critical Notes on the Culture Lag Concept," *Social Forces*, 12 (1933), pp. 388-98, as also his "A New Classification of Culture and a Restatement of the Culture Lag Theory," *Am. Soc. Rev.*, I (1936), 89-102; Ralph Kramer, "The Conceptual Status of Social Disorganization," *Am. J. Soc.*, XLVIII (1942-43), 466-74; Joseph Schneider, "Culture Lag: What Is It?," *Am. Soc. Rev.*, X (1945), 786-99; Abbott P. Herman, "An Answer to Criticisms of the Lag Concept," *Am. J. Soc.*, XLIII (1937), 440-51; Michael Choukas, "The Concept of Cultural Lag Reexamined," *Am. Soc. Rev.*, I (1936), 752-60; and John H. Mueller, "Present Status of the Cultural Lag Hypothesis," *Am. Soc. Rev.*, III (1938), 320-9.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, Barnes, *op. cit.*, p. 946 ff.

<sup>11</sup> See William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff *Sociology*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1940), pp. 894-900.

<sup>12</sup> To cite a frequent example, the "influence" of the automobile on the modern marriage pattern would not have been discernible (if it is) had there not been a number of cultural changes under way which could seize on this technological change. The existence of the automobile, then, was "necessary but not sufficient" as an influence on the exact working out of this pattern.

The theoretical tool of the emergent level likewise eliminates the dichotomy of culture into "material and nonmaterial." On other than cultural levels, some but by no means all, cultural items are *likewise* material: biological, technological, chemical, etc. To avoid circumlocution, it is often advantageous to speak of the concrete object as a whole, embodied with meaning. Nevertheless, a dichotomy on one level is not the same as a distinction between two different levels.

No considerable argument is required to point out, in addition, the methodological weakness of the frequently implicit value-judgment embodied in the notion of "disharmony" or "strain." The social scientist may consider the past generation pleasanter, and present changes as thereby inharmonious, or he may feel that somehow cultural patterns "ought" to adjust to one another or to technological changes.

The sophisticated version of this approach avoids such problems of emergent levels, but falls into other difficulties. Apparently, technical difficulties center about the determination of the speed differential. How can the differential be shown?<sup>13</sup>

Indeed, one may better state the case: both the marriage changes and the technological were parts of more fundamental and far-reaching cultural changes. With regard to the specific example, the flatbed farm wagon has advantages over the automobile, and the "breakdown of the family" is most profound precisely where the advantages of the automobile are less evident: the city.

<sup>13</sup> So far as the writer is aware, no empirical study has attempted to settle the question of the differential. It is simply stated as a fact. That it should be so widely accepted represents an interesting cultural bias in favor of the spread and growth of science and technology.

The closest answer to this latter question is to be found in recent demographic studies, in particular those emanating from the Office of Population Research in Princeton, New Jersey. With reference to a number of colonial areas, such as the Philippines, India, Puerto Rico, and the Netherlands East Indies, death rates in recent decades have dropped much faster than birth rates, the latter often remaining substantially the same. Here the colonial power has introduced public health measures and some agricultural improvements which have allowed a lower death rate, while few Western elements have been assimilated. The result, of course, has been a tremendous net increase in population, to the point where in the foreseeable future the land will not be able to support the population under existing economic conditions. If one defines "strain" as the

Attempts to answer the question indicate that this is really a theoretical problem of definition: qualitative differences in the subject matter hinder a statement provable in empirical terms.<sup>14</sup>

We may perhaps say that science or a culture is changing rapidly when important elements shift their focus or meaning in a short period of time. But comparative rates suggest ineluctably some agreement on the unit to be used for the period. Were the changes in religious orientation during the Reformation equivalent in speed to the modern changes in the family pattern, or biological theory after Darwin, or geometry after Lobachevsky or Riemann? How many of what kind are equivalent, on different levels?

Even on the cultural level, the empirical fact of value integration makes the statement of differential difficult. One cultural activity derives much of its meaning from others. Consequently, to state that one cultural element is changing faster than another may possibly be not only difficult to formulate empirically, but may also be nearly meaningless.<sup>15</sup>

Nevertheless, the concrete problems studied from this approach coincide closely with those traditionally forming the field of social problems, and even the emphasis on the importance of the

possibility of famine or future high mortality, and assumes the same industrial pattern, this may be one type of answer on at least the demographic level. See, for example, Frank W. Notestein, "Problems of Policy in Relation to Areas of Heavy Population Pressure," in *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XXII, (1944), 424-44; Kingsley Davis, "Human Fertility in India," *LII Am. J. Soc.* (1946), pp. 243-54; or Frank W. Notestein, "International Population and Readjustments," *Acad. of Pol. Sci.* (Columbia University, 1945), pp. 94-102.

<sup>14</sup> Commonsense suggests that social elements, like biological elements, have differential rates of development, or may have. It also suggests that in many nonliterate societies the technology had not developed in important respects for centuries before being influenced by Western technology, even though the religious system, for example, had conceivably done so. The problem of the comparison of *rate*, however, is much more complex than such common-sense statements.

<sup>15</sup> With reference to the existence of implicit value judgments, it must be remembered that even though some clusters or patterns of values may predictively imply *others*, this does not mean that the presence, absence, or different meaning of the others prove "disharmony."

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Western urban complex is not a deviation, suggesting that the implicit theoretical definition of the field is also similar.

*Social Disorganization or Anomie.* The attempt to avoid the surface empiricism of common-sense description has led some students to the use of the term *social disorganization*, which is similar in its meaning to Durheim's *anomie*.<sup>16</sup> Since this is stated in terms of (1) the process of breakdown and reintegration, (2) the integration of social structure as an existing situation, and (3) the control of the group values on the individual, there are differing aspects of the anomic pattern, not necessarily varying in unison.<sup>17</sup> In terms of (2), the integration of the values, which is assumed to be necessary for the continued existence of the society, the direction may be either that of breakdown and simultaneous (i.e., processual) reintegration of another type, or breakdown without such a reintegration. Similarly, the central value structure may lose its hold over the individual while another such structure is asserting itself (as occurs with children of immigrants), or the hold may be lost without such an immediate reassertion (the spread of rational individualism).<sup>18</sup>

It is obvious that the state of complete *anomie* is a theoretically limiting one, at which the society disappears. Concretely, it is probably true that no case of this sort would exist so long as the

<sup>16</sup> See Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*. Trans. by George Simpson, (New York: Macmillan, 1930), Book III, chap. I. Thomas and Znaniecki's concept of social disorganization is substantially this idea. See their *Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, 2 vols. (New York: Knopf, 1927), pp. 1117-28. Note also Elliott and Merrill, *op. cit.*, p. 26. Queen and Gruener, *op. cit.*, also approach disorganization in terms of degree of personal participation in social groups, sharing in the culture, etc. See Queen's "Social Disorganization and Social Participation," *Am. Soc. Rev.*, VI (1941), 307-16. Pareto's process of the development of the "foxes" is also relevant here. For further analysis of the term, see Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 326-7, 334 ff., 377-8, etc.

<sup>17</sup> These are logical possibilities, and not necessarily concrete ones.

<sup>18</sup> In terms of logical possibilities, it is conceivable that where the limiting case of *anomie* is reached, all three occur simultaneously. This may be the situation when primitive societies are destroyed by Western civilization—the Tasmanians, for example. Durkheim explicitly recognizes the latter two types. See his *Division of Labor*, p. 354 ff.

members which constituted the group still existed. The culturally structured character of human beings, even in situations of panic, mobs, or physical catastrophe probably never permits a total lack of structure. Patterns of action are observable almost immediately. There are goals in common, even if they are not well integrated; and leaders rise with their followers. Absolute individualism, which must be the concomitant of *anomie*, will perhaps never be found while some members survive.<sup>19</sup>

One would then have to use the concept processually, by considering a pattern of action anomic when it "tends toward *anomie*," or toward structurelessness, or loosening of value integration in its hold over the individual.<sup>20</sup> In addition to clarity, certain advantages are clear from this use. While the content of the field would vary from one society to another, the definition would not vary in this manner, thus setting the stage for generalizations as to social process, social change, concrete resultants of various value pressures, the contributions of various value structures to the society, as well as the degree of value integration in a given society, and this could be done on a deeper level than the mere description of cultural relativity. Likewise, as in the problems approach, this could focus on the level of common-value integration. This would follow from the fact that one would necessarily investigate the growth or degree of individualistic attitudes or values, and the lack or degree of control by the central value structure, as well as its internal integration.

Further, since sociologists are by occupational tradition mostly concerned with the Western culture complex, this approach is particularly appropriate, while the spread of this complex into native cultures furnishes interesting data. The existence or growth of individualism is a marked phenomenon in this culture, and it has often been pointed to as the dynamic factor in many "problems." Nevertheless, its particular application to Western society does not negate its more general methodological and theoretical applicability. This applicability derives from its "objectivity," i.e., it is not in itself defined

<sup>19</sup> This is interestingly, if not analytically, documented by John Hersey's *Hiroshima*, widely published in current periodicals.

<sup>20</sup> Durkheim uses the term in a processual manner. See his *Division of Labor*, pp. 3-5.



by the values of either the individual or the group.<sup>21</sup> This fact has theoretical implications with reference to subject matter, as compared with that of the problems approach. The mere existence of some prostitution, crime, suicide, etc., would not in itself imply "problems" from this point of view. As is known, to a certain degree they are to be considered normal resultants of a particular social organization.

Nevertheless, in spite of this apparent methodological clarity, the technical application of this approach is more doubtful. Indeed, in view of present techniques and knowledge, such an application may contribute little at first. Besides the definitional and empirical problem of determining "when *anomie* is reached," which may be obviated by using the concept in the sense of "tendency toward *anomie*" in processual terms, other problems emerge. The most obvious lies, of course, in the actual inculcation of the value structure in the child undergoing socialization. Detailed knowledge of this process is necessary, particularly with reference to the degree of socialization required for the continuance of the society. More central, and perhaps crucial in technical terms, is the determination of the exact functional relations of particular values or value complexes with reference to integration and continued existence.<sup>22</sup> The state of structurelessness, or lack of value integration, or lack of control is exactly the case where the values and behavior patterns no longer contribute as much toward the continued existence of the society.

Although this seems clear enough from the point of view of theory or methodology, it is not clear with reference to the techniques of investigation. This may be seen by suggesting a breakdown of the term "function" in the Radcliffe-Brown sense. A value, practice, institution, or

other cultural element may vary functionally in terms of both implicitness as well as positive character. That is, a given element may (1) contribute for the most part positively, with the contribution known to the society; (2) contribute negatively, with the contribution known; (3) contribute positively, with the contribution unknown; (4) contribute negatively, with the contribution unknown; and (5) and (6), no empirically discernible contribution may be seen, even if one exists, and this in turn may be known or unknown to the society itself.<sup>23</sup>

As to the degree of increasing technical difficulty in investigation, we may note the following. It is likely, to take a simple example, that the Zufi recognize the positive function of the dwarf Atoshle in preserving Zufi conformity in children by frightening those who have been willful, often at the behest of the parents. Here, both the society and the external observer would agree that fear of these dwarfs aids in continuing the society as it exists at present.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, the Tikopia probably know little if anything about germs, so that the contribution which their frequent bathing makes to their health and thereby the continuance of the society is probably unknown to them.<sup>25</sup> In terms of negative contribution, very likely it would be difficult to find many cases where the society readily accepts a given practice as injurious to the group and its continuance. Further, in view of the concrete fact of continuance, it would be difficult to demonstrate, whether known or unknown to the society, that such a practice is harmful. In addition, many minor practices or values are linked in such a manner with major ones that we simply do not know enough to be able to do more than guess cleverly as to their function.

We are, then, on empirically more satisfactory

<sup>21</sup> This recognition of the negative character of function may seem a perverse twisting of the Radcliffe-Brown definition. However, we know enough concerning the complexity of effect to be able to accept this as a possibility. The cultural reasons for the positive functions of the status quo having been most emphasized need not be analyzed here.

<sup>22</sup> The qualifying phrase "at present" denotes a recognition of the complexity of the definition of function. The problem of continuing the society at all, and continuing it as presently constituted, may be very different.

<sup>23</sup> Raymond Firth, *We, the Tikopia*, (New York: American, 1936), p. 152.

<sup>21</sup> Yet its objectivity is no more "objective," i.e., independent of or not based on the investigator's biases, than the problems approach.

<sup>22</sup> The introduction of Radcliffe-Brown's definition of "function" is useful because of the necessary connection between the two concepts: the theoretically limiting situation of *anomie* is reached when the values fail to contribute enough through the acting individuals to enable the society to continue, and the statement in processual terms is similar. See A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "On the Conception of Function in Social Science," *Am. Anthropol.*, XXXVII, 395. See also the substantially similar definition by Durkheim, *Division of Labor*, p. 49.

grounds when we deal with technological processes or health, and with effects which the society itself recognizes. When, however, we proceed to the subtler effects and counter-resultants of values and practices on the purely cultural level, we either resort to common-sense statements or guesswork.<sup>26</sup> The technical tools for the empirical or theoretical closure of smaller value systems as a preliminary to analyzing out the interrelations and forces do not exist at present.<sup>27</sup> The problem of application, then, is such that much of the theoretical clarity would now be lost, due to technical complexities.

To these facts is to be added the suggestion, relevant to occupation more than to the development of the science, that this definition of "disorganization" would probably coincide only loosely with the general problems approach, except when one could demonstrate technically that in the case of particular problems the process had reached a point where it had a tendency to break down the structure of the society. This demonstration in itself may not be easily made with present tools.<sup>28</sup>

It is perhaps relevant, however, to note that careful comparative studies in time or space may help to clarify the conceptual problem of

<sup>26</sup> Thus one might claim, for example, that a coronation ritual functions toward a closer integration of political and religious power, and thereby toward a continuance of the society, basing this statement on the notion that when one member of the society is singled out and treated with respect by one with high prestige or rank, the former is thereby elevated in prestige or rank, also. While we would accept this as likely, the technical problems of empirical proof are clearly difficult.

<sup>27</sup> This is not a reference to specifically statistical techniques, the mathematics of which can go far beyond the rough character of our data. The most refined statistical techniques can yield little from observations which are inherently crude.

<sup>28</sup> Lundberg suggests in his *Social Research* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1942), a possible definition in terms of statistics (pp. 100-1). However, the matter is not merely one of verbal or formula definition. Durkheim offers a definition of "normality" similarly (*Rules*, pp. 51, 55-60).

anomie, as well as sharpen the tools for analysis. With this result, it would also follow that a clearer idea would emerge as to what the core integration would have to be, in order that a society might survive. This, in turn, would possibly permit some type of statistical statement as to possible deviations short of anomie as a completed process, as suggested by Lundberg. One might, for example, emerge with different types of activities tending toward anomie, from those which cannot be permitted if the society is to survive, to those which need not be supported with great fervor so long as external sanctions are applied, to those which are permissible in a statistically limited fashion, marked by gradations in severity of punishment by the society.

#### CONCLUSION

Two major facts emerge from this discussion. One is that in spite of the important differences of theoretical approach and treatment, the descriptive materials for this field are significantly similar in the recent textbooks. The other is that the approach which seems most fruitful and sound theoretically is technically difficult to apply at present. That the emphasis in the field should therefore continue to be placed on "problems" is to be expected. As a practical matter of pedagogy and general exposition this approach is comparatively simple, and does not involve great theoretical difficulties. In addition, there may be cultural imperatives which motivate sociologists to keep a strong interest in the field of problems and therefore to retain an implicit theoretical definition of the field which coincides with that of problems, in spite of varying explicit theoretical definitions.

A theoretical bridge between the two approaches is not inconceivable, however, with the development of additional techniques and fundamental knowledge. The bridge may possibly be constructed in terms of the anomic effect of certain "problems" when the latter increase in scope beyond certain limits. The resulting synthesis, which then would be integrated with the more basic problematic areas of sociology, would have fruitful effects on the development of the science.

## THE CULTURAL INTEGRATION OF EUROPE

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**T**HAT which is called the continent of Europe is actually a projection of Asia into the Atlantic Ocean—a peninsula of asymmetric and irregular outline, tapering westward from its broad Russian base, indented by estuaries and seas running far inland, and partially fringed by large off-shore islands. The regions of Europe are topographically easily distinguishable. In the west, the southern and northern extremities and the center are mountainous to the degree that human life is concentrated in the valleys, along the seacoasts, and on a few occasional plateaus; central Europe, from the Balkans to Poland, is fretted by a series of meandering ranges; but elsewhere a vast plain extends without serious interruption from the Urals to the tip of Jutland and the foothills of the Pyrenees. Two natural factors have been of incalculable importance—the proximity of the sea, either directly or through numerous navigable rivers, to European society, effecting frequent external contacts, and the virtual isolation of the Mediterranean littoral as an area independent of the European, Asian, and African hinterlands. Thus, while southwest and south central Europe have been the milieu of an old and tenacious culture always easily accessible to non-European influences, the narrow lowlands north and west of the Alps are cut off from cosmopolitan currents out of the South and East. Because of overseas communication, however, the islands of the Mediterranean, Baltic, and North Seas, from Gotland around to Crete, have served as relay stations for trains or waves of cultural activity being transmitted to or from the mainland.

The broad plains of eastern Europe, whose influence on the rest of the continent might have been greater except for their partial termination in the Pripet Marshes and the Carpathians, have been inhabited for more than a millenium by an ethnical complex in which predominate the Slavs, a people whose history has been disturbed by irruptions into their midst of adventurous traders and conquering warriors, out of the Scandinavian peninsula and perhaps most significantly, northern Asia. Distant repercussions of such populational movement and displacements have affected European and world development, for from time

to time Mongoloid and north Germanic migrations have penetrated, overrun, or (in instances of the latter) settled in western Europe. At the center of the continent the Magyars, strictly speaking a non-European stock, are insulated from Asiatic antecedents by the surrounding Germanic and Slavic peoples—a pool left by a tide long since ebbed. The invasions from the northwest and east have precipitated the shift in locale or procured the dispersion of peoples who have stood in their way, the most famous case having occurred during the series of actions that broke up the Mediterranean imperium founded by Rome, dissolving the complex of Hellenic-Italian culture into its eastern and western elements.

As the ethnological classification of European peoples is beyond the scope of concise discussion, and in a strictly scientific sense almost impossible after centuries of interbreeding, the analysis into cultural divisions for which populational migration and expansion, but above all geography, have been responsible, seems a more feasible undertaking. Mostly the inhabitants of Europe belong to the Caucasoid race—i.e., they have a complexion that is usually, though at times hardly, distinguished by relative lack of pigment, and also possess in common certain specific features of structural development. Mentally there is scarcely any characteristic that is generically recognizable, and also on the basis of indigenous cultural evidence it would be difficult to hypothesize European or proto-European man.

There is only one force that has been continually operative throughout Europe during the last thousand years, and since this force has dominated its culture for two millenia after having firmly established itself as a political and social power in the disintegrating Roman Empire, the religion and ethical doctrine, as well as the institutions embodying Christianity, may determine the limit in time of an essay assessing those destinies common to all Europe.

In cultural character one can discern the actual, effective working out of the intellectual possibilities that have evoked, at least substantially, the descriptions of peoples as Germanic, Slavic, and Mediterranean. Since the sixteenth century, especially, the greatly varying consciousness of

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doctrinal interpretation has tended to correspond to the general nationo-racial demarcation: religion delimits, if only roughly, the political, social, and economic frontiers. Southwestern Europe is Roman Catholic, the northwest largely Protestant, while the inhabitants of eastern and south central countries adhere mostly to the Greek Catholic (or Orthodox) Church. Despite eras of great bitterness, confessional estrangement has not prevented the recognition of attitudes held to be ethically correct and therefore of universal application.

Among the qualities that Christianity has by deed or word sought to promote—and usually the attributes enumerated, without the acid test of reference to specific instances, are esteemed by those who regard themselves as Christian—are probity, sincerity, temperance, forbearance, justice, charity, clemency, rectitude, faith, and obedience to divine authority. Through the philosophical and spiritual evaluation of these attributes as preeminent virtues has been constructed the idea of Christian European society—an idea that has given both to the religious and to the non-religious whose cultural background is Christian a community of feeling, within which more or less distinctly can be traced a circle of intellectual kindredship. That this union of Christendom, however vague or loose after the economic and political, then the ecclesiastical, partition of loyalties, persisted through and beyond the legal dissolution of the western Empire, is attributed to the action of principles, certainly sporadic in operation, but supported nevertheless on premises of greater validity than the purely emotional or the purely abstract. In contrast to the record of endless internal conflict, the unity and character of Christian civilization in Europe have been conserved at more than one critical epoch through an appeal to the piety of all the faithful and thus to the concept of a culturo-social entity evoking universal fidelity.

From cooperation in times of vital necessity—in the earlier Crusades, for example—the inference appears that all the provincial, particularized cultures of Europe, crowded into a relatively small area, in comparison with the land surface of the globe, are bound together by not always easily discernible economic relationships. These ties must have been easier to perceive and analyze prior to the north Germanic secession from the Roman Catholic Church, when needs occasioned by, say, religious observances, were cognizably

uniform from region to region. Then wax for candles and fish for fast-days were in demand in both North and South, and the natural restrictions on quantity encouraged a vigorous inter-regional commerce between highly localized sources and markets of wide distribution. Trade far flung between the corners of Europe had to be conducted and protected by an international apparatus; out of organizations such as the Hansa, conceived to protect and advance the rights of merchants living abroad with respect to commercial and extraterritorial law, grew powerful leagues, cartels whose original basis had been the merger or collectivization of narrow local privileges acquired insularly by loosely associated traders. Political and financial influence of the Church itself exceeded that of any regional power, for the administration, revenues, and real property at the disposition of the Papacy surpassed in scope those of any other institution. Only after the temporal difficulties of the Church had culminated in the Protestant revolt, and the relationship of such Catholic leaders as Charles V and Francis I to the see of Rome had been strained within the fabric of their orthodoxy, were there frequent and serious alliances between Christian and non-Christian, non-European rulers.

The persistence of a community of Christian consciousness in Europe until after the stormy events of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (and also with qualification after that period of warfare and reform) suggests a degree of coordination in reaction to the semi-isolation of European Christendom, its detachment from co-religionists and antecedents in Asia, as a result of the rise of Islam in the seventh century, to effect about the end of the first millenium a cordon of Semitic culture shutting off the European peninsula from northern Africa and southwestern Asia. Though the consequences of this move were soon to be modified by the re-penetration of the Near East and the resumption of a limited cultural and commercial intercourse, the shock was sufficient to set in motion intensified waves of communication between the Byzantine Empire and the relatively less complex and more receptive civilization of western Europe, and at the same time to stimulate the west European mind, breaking its dependence on Asia and antiquity and compelling use of its genius.

As the external influence of Islamic cultural drives was blocked by the tension of violent conflict instigated in religious and social cleavage,

disrupting the cosmopolitan atmosphere that had been maturing in the neighborhood of Saracenic kingdoms and Semitic economic outposts, the Carolingian empire, resembling a caliphate divided and sub-divided in the later Moslem fashion, had degenerated into impotence. At its heart, in northwestern Germany and northern France, was being conceived the most creative and separate, the most characteristically independent and Germanic of styles, which within less than two centuries was to become the transcendent medium for western Europe to express in art, life, and spirituality its native feeling. The Gothic overcame the limitations of form inherent in the traditional and imitative Romanesque structure, out of which it had evolved only in a strictly anatomic sense, by subordinating practicality of design to inspiration, creating the microcosm from its inner image, instead of merely refashioning heavy corporeal masses in conformity with the prejudices of prevailing fancy, as the Romanesque and Byzantine had done, somewhat transitionally and tentatively.

Signal as emergent feudalism, the fluent and restless line of the Gothic marked a reaction to the isolation into which Europe had been thrust by the aggression and conquest of Norse and Islamic invaders. From the eighth through the eleventh centuries, a second series of assaults on the Christianized West by people of the north Germanic areas, out of which eventually issued the Norman settlements in France, England, and Sicily, effected a new ethnico-cultural complex; and after the Islamic power had swept over the Iberian peninsula to be checked by Charles Martel in the 730's, the Moslems remained even in division a continual, if intermittently active, danger in the South. In their innate endowments and contributions to European culture, Northmen and Mohammedans differed sharply; except for the techniques borrowed by the nascent western civilization, the Moslem culture remained essentially unassimilable; but the Normans on their adopted soil were to shape into distinctive form the architecture, manners, letters, and politics of western Europe, and to lead the vanguard of Christendom in the Crusades.

The struggle against the Turks who had become for Europe the protagonist of Islam everywhere rallied followers for the Cross, and the repossession of the Holy Land from the unbeliever assumed the importance of a point of honor. As the militant aspirations of the Crusaders

disturbed the social, political, and economic pattern of western Europe and flung whole cross-sections of land-hungry peoples—homeless folk, wandering knights, fiery visionaries, covetous barons, romantic chevaliers, diplomatizing prelates and merchants, dynastically minded princes and adventurers, a conglomerate band of the zealous and the empire- and booty-greedy—on to the Byzantine territories and the Islamic Near East, those aspirations prophetic and millennial were reflected in the maturation in the strength of an ideal elevating, vitalizing, transfiguring the churches erected by popular piety throughout western Europe, but especially in the Norman and Germanic areas that furnished the life-blood of the Crusades.

Like the arboreal tracing of a forest through which races dynamic urge to bring the inorganic to life, the energy that burst forth in the fabric of Norman empire, to carry the military prowess of the Christian faith to conquest and short-lived feudal colonization of the Levant, at last spiritualized itself in the cold, intricate procession of Gothic stone and Scholastic logic. In the same era—the four centuries after Charlemagne—other Northmen moved down the Dnieper and Volga and founded states among the Slavs of the Russian plain. Before 1000 missionaries from the Eastern empire had introduced Christianity and established thereby the Greek Catholic Church in the region; thus Byzantine civilization became for eastern Europe the acceptable form of cultural reference and assimilation. The resemblance of the conversion in progress of northwest Europe to Latin Christianity must be qualified, for the pagan Germanic culture yielded slowly and, as in the case of Charlemagne and the Saxons, occasionally only under the threat of force. In the Scandinavian peninsula particularly there existed a relative ethnico-cultural homogeneity, and the absence of a need for protection against external aggression resulted in a different social texture, involving yeomanry, peasants, and nobility in a landowner-tenant rather than in a truly feudal relationship.

While, therefore, the Christianization of northwest Europe had to rely on the prestige of its distinguished converts, as much as on their effectual power, and to make headway against the local popular barriers to secure acceptance among refractory provincials, in the Russian territories the general legalization of the Greek establishment could be procured with facility derived from

the special position acquired, as in Normandy and England after the conquest, by the Norse invaders and their descendants; as masters of the country, they could assist the Orthodox priests to proselytize rapidly and vigorously, if perhaps sometimes rather superficially.

Whatever remnants of paganism may have persisted among the Russian folk for centuries, the external impression of Oriental Christianity was sufficiently strong to hold the physical and spiritual Byzantine mold during the Mongoloid inundation from northern Asia after 1200. This flood, which was not effectively to recede until the late fifteenth century, was the last, in any event, the latest, wave to sweep across the great north Asiatic plain, through and around the low and frequently broken Urals, to threaten or disrupt European society. That the tide was held back after lapping into central Europe may be due to internal difficulties of the Khan's administration, the fact that the limits of expansion had been reached by Mongol military competence, or possibly the robustness and determination of west European civilization, recently fired with an idea of universal cultural integration unknown since the Mediterranean world had been united under the Roman Imperium. The success of the resistance was coincident with the climax of the internal violence consequent on the evolution of feudalism and the struggle between the temporal forces of the Empire and Papacy. Difficulties among the invaders may have equalized those in the West at a critical moment, but the fact that in spite of manifest political disunity, some degree of organization confronted Asiatic aggression can partly be attributed to cultural and economic interdependence fostered by the Christian faith.

The same strength of the Christian principle, inculcated by the Byzantine Church, endured in the East, where the subjected peoples clung to the religion installed less than two centuries before, and where toward the end of the fifteenth century the Mongols were to be pushed back by the revolt of the prince of Moscow. His action, within not many years after this resurgence, was to be complemented at the other end of Europe, when the combined forces of Aragon and Castile drove the last Islamic power from the Iberian peninsula.

Though the unity of doctrine had been destroyed by the schism between the eastern and western churches, each of which claimed to offer the most veracious interpretation of Christianity, though northern Europe was about to become the scene of the Protestant conflict, and while the actual recovery of all the eastern Slavs from non-Christian Mongol dominion would still be a matter of centuries, at 1500 the society of the European peninsula was substantially the creation, through moral, educative, and materio-political agencies, of the consciousness of Christian ethical universalism and its derived culture.

There was a resemblance to the situation in the Greek peninsula about 400 B. C., which, with its surrounding islands and oversea extensions, was the home of a distinctly independent culture and of a society politically divided but possessed of the common heritage, therefore feeling itself to be set apart from the non-Hellenic world. Like Greece, Europe was presently to be subjected to convulsive strife caused by the conflicting interests of ambitious soldiers and dynasts, and the economic forces which they represented; the contenders determined to build mutually competitive states out of the territorial remnants left from the preceding periods, with the means of power-mechanisms whose mercenary force was run by the fuel of liquid capital.

The processes initiated around 400 B. C. and 1500 resulted in the rapid transmission of in the one case, Hellenic, in the other, Christian civilization to areas several times greater than the regions of origin and maturation. This missionary effort was to leave often permanent traces of its work on the external societies impressed, yet within four or five centuries the original community of Hellenic consciousness was to be submerged beneath the weight of its own decadence and foreign domination. Likewise, in modern Europe, during the four and a half centuries that have succeeded the cultural integration of pan-European Christian society, trends toward cultural and religious separatism, economic imperialism, and petty nationalism have issued in political exhaustion of all but the peripheral powers of Britain and Soviet Russia, and their strength and raw resources probably must lie ultimately in, respectively, the Americas and Asia.



## TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### TRIAL USE OF PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY PROCEDURES IN DETERMINING IMMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION POLICIES FOR BOLIVIA, ECUADOR, AND PERU

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WHEN the Social Research Service of Michigan State College undertook to arrange for colonization and migration of European refugees to Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru, it was directed by its employing agency, the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, to survey economic and sociological conditions with which immigrating refugees from abroad would be confronted in their new homes. It was the mission's responsibility to appraise these conditions as quickly as possible and, in the light of the findings, to negotiate with the Andean governments to receive some of the million refugees from the camps for displaced persons, most of which are in Germany and Austria.

#### THE OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

As part of this assignment we were commissioned to ascertain whether there were official and/or non-official prejudices against any of the groups of refugees whom we were interested in moving to Latin America. The IGC missions which had been sent to other Latin American countries had reported concerning prejudices, but no formal procedures for gathering data had been used. Knowing the dangers inherent in relying upon interviews conducted without developing any systematic procedures either with respect to the content of the interview or the sampling procedures, we decided, even at the cost of slightly slowing up our negotiations, to attempt

to get more reliable information. In accomplishing this objective and in designing plans for colonization, we were confronted with important problems involving class structure and social stratification. What class group determines policy and plays the most dynamic role in the formation of public opinion? Were the official attitudes of the present governments toward the various groups of potential immigrants the same as those of the people who might be determining policy later, say after the next election or revolution? At what level in the class structure might the various European refugee groups be expected to fit and what would their life pattern as immigrants or colonists be?

#### THE NATURE OF THE SAMPLE

To answer the last two questions, the Social Research Service undertook to assemble all available data and launched several cultural anthropological and economic studies in the areas in which it was agreed that refugees would be settled. To answer the first question, local statistical agencies were induced to cooperate in making social psychological surveys by telephone in the three capital cities of La Paz, Lima, and Quito and also in Bolivia's second largest city, which lies near an area recommended for colonization, Cochabamba. In addition a personal face-to-face interview study of colonists in a carefully stratified sample was made in the most successful recent agricultural settlement of Tingo Maria, Peru, located in the eastern border valley area, a region to which it was proposed that refugees be brought in considerable number. It is with the results of

\* Head of the Mission of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees to the Andean Countries and Director of the Social Research Service of Michigan State College.

these social psychological or attitude and opinion surveys that the present article deals.

Since negotiations with the governments of the various countries were begun immediately upon the arrival of the mission in the capital cities, the attitude and opinion survey, to be of maximum use as a basis for policy determination, had to be so conducted as to provide quick results. This and considerations of class structure led to the telephonic interview procedure. Obviously, such a telephonic survey could be expected to reach only the upper and middle classes. From previous studies and experience with Latin American culture we knew that, even though there were so-called popular front movements in some of the countries, the masses in the lower classes, who constituted at least 90 percent of the people, were of relatively little significance in the determination of public policy. Of course, the fact that a person had a telephone reflects his position in the class structure, but, also, the telephone user is more apt to be "in the know" than others so far as matters of public policy are concerned.

The ratio of telephones to persons in the four cities of La Paz, Lima, Quito, and Cochabamba is relatively constant, being in no case more than 1 to 20. In the three capital cities telephonic interviews were completed through approximately every 400th telephone listed in the directories. To avoid calling persons twice, only residence phones were called. Since the questions involved foreigners, only persons with Spanish names were contacted, and because of the relatively great importance of males in Latin American public affairs, interviews, with minor exceptions, were conducted only with male proprietors of the homes in which the phones were located.<sup>1</sup> In all, only 107 tele-

phonic interviews were completed: 46 in Lima, 22 in La Paz, 13 in Quito, and 26 in Cochabamba. In addition, 42 face-to-face interviews were conducted with farmers in the agricultural settlement, Tingo Maria, Peru. The samples from the 4 cities were so much alike with reference to most of the inquiries included in the study that it was considered legitimate to group them. Assuming conditions of random sampling prevailed, the statistical analysis of answers given to all the questions relevant to immigration and colonization as reported in the four cities were in all cases so similar that any differences could have been due to chance alone. In one control item, however, the sample drawn from Lima revealed itself to be significantly different from the other three cities. Only 17 percent of the telephone users in the Lima sample gave an affirmative answer to the question: Do you now or have you ever owned a farm or an estate? Comparable percentages for the samples drawn from Cochabamba, La Paz, and Quito were 54, 77, and 62, respectively. Those familiar with the class structure of these cities will agree that fewer upper and middle class residents of Lima are members of the so-called landed aristocracy of absentee landlords than in the other cities. Since responses to the other inquiries were so similar in the four cities, they are grouped in the following tables. The farmers in the Tingo Maria colony are analyzed separately because they constitute a very different group. For Tingo Maria previous investigations<sup>2</sup> permitted drawing a stratified sample based upon income and race, and the results of the separate analysis of this sample were considered to be particularly important in view of the proposal to settle a considerable number of European refugees in the Tingo Maria area.

#### ARE THE REFUGEES WANTED?

In view of the fact that the IGC missions to Brazil and Argentina had reported considerable

positions on this page. It was possible to check bias due to unanswered or busy telephones or absence of proprietors by the comparison of data on calls made at different times of the day. Most proprietors were in and available in afternoons from 12 to 1, 2 to 3, and after 6 on week days or 3 to 7 on Saturdays. Relatively few proprietors were available for calls made from 9 to 12 in the morning.

<sup>1</sup> The greatest danger of bias in the sample of telephone users resulted from the fact that there was insufficient time to repeat calls when the telephone subscriber was not contacted because no one answered, the telephone was busy, or the proprietor was out. For example: In Lima for which 46 telephonic interviews were completed, 67 telephone calls were not answered because the telephones rang busy or no one was home to answer them. Of the 139 telephones which were answered, in 46 cases the interview was completed, 9 proprietors refused to participate in the interview, and in 85 cases the proprietor was not available. The person making the calls called every nth residential phone with the above mentioned exceptions. The first time through the directory, the telephone number listed last on each page was called. Subsequently, attempts were made to call numbers in other specified

<sup>2</sup> See C. P. Loomis, *Studies in Rural Social Organization*, (East Lansing, Michigan: State College Book Store, 1945).

disinclination to accept refugees, the results in Table 1 were gratifying to those who are anxious to move the displaced persons from Europe. Since most of the million refugees available for resettlement are now being fed by the American and British armies, there has been manifested by persons in official quarters considerable interest in ascertaining the attitudes of various groups toward these refugees. The situation provided an admirable opportunity to measure prejudice through determining whether they were wanted as fellow citizens. Although the question as phrased may result in a positive bias there seems to be little doubt that most of the respondents want European colonists as fellow citizens.

TABLE 1  
SHOULD WE ACCEPT EUROPEAN REFUGEES AS  
COLONISTS AND IMMIGRANTS?

	RESPONDENTS ANSWERING	
	In Four Cities*	In Tingo Maria Colony, Peru
	Per cent	Per cent
Yes.....	97	83
No.....	2	17
Uncertain.....	1	0
Total.....	100	100

\* For every 10 answers in the four cities of Cochabamba, La Paz, Lima, and Quito respectively the following answered "yes": 10, 10, 9 and 9.

#### WHAT KIND OF REFUGEES ARE WANTED?

Students of attitudes and opinions are always plagued with the necessity for checking verbal reactions against actual behavior. Do those who claim they are without racial prejudice actually marry, choose friends, business associates and staff members as though they were without prejudice? Since the informants were told that the agency conducting the interviewing was attempting to appraise representative opinion in order to be able to advise officials in their dealing with the IGC, the answers should represent choices of fellow compatriots.

**Religious Considerations.** Since over 90 percent of the million refugees available for resettlement to Latin America were Catholics, the question which heads Table 2 was introduced with a statement which explains this fact.

**National Backgrounds.** In answer to the

question: "Of all the countries of continental Europe from which one would you most prefer to have immigrants or colonists?" Italy was most frequently mentioned by the telephone users in the four cities; thereafter, Spain, France, Scandinavia, England, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Poland in the order of frequency mentioned. Thus, countries whose people are Catholics and speak romance languages were chosen most fre-



FIG. 1. LOCATION OF AREAS STUDIED FOR THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE ON REFUGEES

quently by urban informants. For the agricultural settlement, Tingo Maria, Peru the order of choice was as follows: Italy, Germany, France, Poland, Yugoslavia, Spain, and Czechoslovakia. Since the million refugees whom the IGC proposes to settle in Latin America are almost half Poles and most of the remainder Balts, Yugoslavs and other peoples from the East of Europe, these choices were meaningful to us as negotiators.

In answer to the question: "Of all the countries



of Continental Europe which should be excluded as immigrants or colonists?" slightly over one-third of both the rural and urban samples answered

TABLE 2

**MOST OF THE EUROPEAN REFUGEES WHICH THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE ON REFUGEES CAN BRING TO THIS COUNTRY ARE CATHOLICS; HOWEVER, THERE ARE SOME PROTESTANTS AND JEWS. WHICH OF THESE THREE RELIGIOUS GROUPS WOULD YOU PREFER TO HAVE AS IMMIGRANTS OR COLONISTS?**

	RESPONDENTS ANSWERING	
	In Four Cities	In Tingo Maria Colony, Peru
	Per cent	Per cent
Catholics*.....	51	57
Protestants and Catholics.....	24	22
Protestants.....	4	14
No Preference.....	21	7
Total.....	100	100

\* For the four cities Cochabamba, La Paz, Lima and Quito for every ten respondents the number answering "Catholic" were as follows: 5, 5, 5, and 7.

**WHICH OF THE THREE ABOVE MENTIONED RELIGIOUS GROUPS SHOULD WE EXCLUDE AS COLONISTS?**

	RESPONDENTS ANSWERING	
	In Four Cities	In Tingo Maria Colony, Peru
	Per cent	Per cent
No Religious Group*.....	48	10
Jews*.....	46	61
Protestants and Jews.....	5	22
No answer given.....	1	7
Total.....	100	100

\* For the four cities Cochabamba, La Paz, Lima and Quito out of every 10 respondents the number rejecting the Jews were as follows: 5, 3, 5, and 5; those wishing to exclude no religious group were respectively 4, 6, 4, and 5. Since the question as phrased assumes the necessity of excluding there is probably a bias resulting in an under-representation of those who would exclude no religious group.

that no nation's nationals should be excluded. City telephone users mentioned most frequently the nationals of Russia as those who should be

excluded. This reaction is to be expected from those classes who are telephone users because of the tendency to identify Russia with communism. Farmers in Tingo Maria most frequently mentioned Spaniards as those who should be excluded. In this and in other connections, they manifested anxiety lest they be subjugated as the Spaniards had once subjugated the Indians.

*Wanted and Unwanted Occupations.* Since all three countries are facing a food crisis, most all persons interviewed stressed the importance of bringing in farmers, peasants, and agricultural experts. Since most of the displaced persons are peasants, many are fitted by background for colonization in the Andean countries. However, many of the European refugees are not peasants. To find which occupational groups were desired, the following statements and questions were posed:

"Most of the refugees whom the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees could bring here are farmers. However, there are among the refugees other occupations and professions represented. If you think non-farmers should be brought in, which occupations and professions should be given preference. Please list these in the order of your preference."

Of the first choices of telephone users of the four cities, 42 percent were for skilled workers or technicians, 18 percent for industrialists, 9 percent for engineers and chemists, 4 percent for fishermen, 2 percent for teachers and doctors, and 24 percent expressed no preference or were undecided. Of the farmers at Tingo Maria Colony, 56 percent of the first choices were for skilled workers or technicians, 5 percent for teachers and doctors, and 2 percent for engineers and chemists. The remaining 26 percent were undecided or expressed no preference. When the question: "Which occupational groups should be excluded?" was asked, 5 out of 8 individuals in each group said that no occupational group should be excluded. Those who wanted to exclude occupational groups most frequently mentioned lawyers, other professionals, and business men. Even in these countries which are among the world's most understaffed, so far as the medical profession is concerned, doctors often said no more doctors should be allowed to enter. Several compared bringing in more business men with getting more people to "help take in each others' washing." Frequently the statement "we want only producers" was made.

**SHOULD POPULATION PRESSURE IN THE HIGHLANDS  
BE RELIEVED BEFORE BRINGING IN  
EUROPEAN REFUGEES?**

By most land use standards of the Western world the Highlands of Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru are over-populated. The Indians of those highlands, which constitute over half the population of these countries, live on one of the world's lowest levels of living. These Indians work at from 20 to 50 cents a day for farmers in the lowlands but usually remain in the lowlands for only a few

TABLE 3

**IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH NEW COLONIES WHICH DO  
YOU THINK WOULD BE THE BETTER PLAN: TO  
USE OUR INDIANS OF THE HIGHLANDS OR TO USE  
EUROPEAN REFUGEES?**

	RESPONDENTS ANSWERING	
	In Three Cities*	In Tingo Maria Colony, Peru
	Per cent	Per cent
We should bring in refugees†.....	88	64
We should use our Indians.....	2	26
We should use both.....	10	7
No answer or uncertain...	0	3
Total.....	100	100

\* Lima is omitted. In all places except Lima the question was asked as indicated above. In Lima the question was asked as follows: Which do you think would be better: To bring in European refugees or use our own nationals? In Lima, percentages reading down were 52, 13, 31, and 4.

† For every 10 respondents the number answering, "We should bring in refugees," for Cochabamba, La Paz, and Quito are respectively: 9, 10, and 7. As indicated in the preceding footnote the Lima inquiry was different.

months before returning home. The great numbers of poor people of the highlands depress all wages.

Some experts who advocate mechanizing the highlands believe the Indians who would be displaced should be settled in the lowlands. Some American agriculturalists think the Andean countries should use their own surplus population for colonization rather than bring in others from outside. What do the people of the Andean countries think? Only at Tingo Maria did any Indians get a chance to answer this question. From the responses to the question in Table 3, it is obvious

that the informants prefer refugees as settlers to their own Indians. Racial and class prejudice often manifest themselves in the replies. Telephone users very often said "The Indians aren't good for anything."

**WHAT SHOULD BE THE PATTERN OF SETTLEMENT?**

Most people interviewed did not want cultural islands or isolated groups of foreigners to develop and many expressed fear lest such groups might develop. However, there was a minority which argued that colonization in the jungle was at best a most difficult undertaking and that only through strong group ties, cooperation and mutual

TABLE 4

**IF WE ESTABLISH COLONIES WITH IMMIGRANTS FROM  
ABROAD WHICH WOULD BE THE BETTER PLAN:  
TO INTERSPERSE COLONISTS FROM OUR COUNTRY  
AMONG THEM OR SETTLE THEM ALONE IN SEPARATE  
AREAS?**

	RESPONDENTS ANSWERING	
	In Four Cities*	In Tingo Maria Colony, Peru
	Per cent	Per cent
Intersperse our nationals among the immigrants...	83	73
Settle the immigrants alone.....	9	25
No answer or undecided...	7	2
Try both ways.....	1	0
Total.....	100	100

\* For every 10 telephone users in the four cities of Cochabamba, Pa Paz, Lima, and Quito the numbers to give the answer "Intersperse our nationals among the immigrants" were respectively the following: 9, 7, 8, and 9.

aid could a colony hope to succeed. People who laid great stress on the importance of group solidarity among the colonists were more inclined to argue in favor of settling the refugees by themselves. Table 4 describes the peoples' thinking about these aspects of settlement.

**TECHNICAL PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN COLONIZATION**

*Places to Colonize.* Of considerable use were the answers to the question: "Where do you think refugees who are brought in as agricultural colonists should be settled?" In most of the countries there are various interests in the governments who, because of personal land holdings

or other vested interests, advocate different areas for settlement. The data from the survey were useful to the investigators as a check for governmental policy. The cost to the governments of clearing and settling is very great and other things being equal a nation whose people are agreed upon which areas should be developed first is more prepared to accept settlers than a nation where no consensus exists. Many colonies have failed in the Andean countries because one government made promises to settlers in a given region and succeeding governments failed to live up to promises to build roads and make other improvements but rather began to develop different areas. In none of the countries was there consensus as to where colonies should be developed. However, in Peru and Bolivia most of the informants in the public opinion survey agreed with colonization officials.

*Size of Holding and Settlement Procedures.* The informants were asked to indicate how many hectares they thought should be cleared free of charge for the settlers, and what type of financial arrangements should be made to insure the success of the colonies. In Tingo Maria where colonists have lived in their wooden houses for 5 years, details concerning what they considered the best building materials were obtained. Information concerning what was thought to be the most suitable size of unit for new settlers was also obtained from the survey in Tingo Maria. The average given in Tingo Maria, was 61 acres, which is about the average size of units in Tingo Maria. Several colonists said they feared that, if the Europeans were to receive larger acreages, they would soon enslave the Peruvian settlers. Of course, reactions of telephone users to questions concerning settlement procedures were often

characterized by ignorance, but all manifest great interest.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Even with statistical weaknesses of the trial investigation it seems safe to conclude that in the Andean countries of South America those strata of society which are most important in public opinion formation would be willing to accept European refugees as immigrants and colonists. Peoples whose language and religious backgrounds are most like the receiving countries are most desired. Most informants want the newcomers settled among the nationals of the countries to which they come and although sizable proportions do not want to exclude any religious group, many stated that they do not want Jews as immigrants. The informants have little faith in their own Indian populations as possible colonists, and immigrants with agricultural, technical, and industrial backgrounds are most desired.

The trial use of public opinion and attitude surveys as a basis for international negotiation demonstrated their utility. However, the telephonic survey was conducted under conditions which may have permitted bias to enter. Future studies should avoid this, and since census materials are now available for some of the cities, more careful sampling procedures can be devised. Also sufficient time should be allowed to check telephonic interviews, if used, with face-to-face interviews. Statistical agencies with no experience in conducting surveys can be induced to cooperate but interviewers must be trained by the employing agencies. In this connection the trainee program of the State Department is paying off. In all four cities governmental employees who had studied in the United States Government Bureaus were available to help in the study.



## RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS OF STATISTICS TO RESEARCH METHODOLOGY IN SOCIOLOGY\*

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**I**F "CONTRIBUTIONS" were taken to mean only those recent developments in statistics which were generally used by sociological research workers whenever they were appropriate for the research problem at hand, this paper would be very short indeed. Therefore, I am interpreting the assigned title of the paper more broadly to include developments in statistics which constitute potential contributions to research methods in sociology, even though they have not been fully exploited by sociologists. Many of the recent and not so recent developments in the theory or practice of statistics are never or only rarely used by persons engaged in sociological research. Several selected fields of statistical methods which hold potentially great contributions for sociological research provide examples of the great lag between potential and actually achieved contributions of statistics to sociology. A brief discussion of these selected fields is followed by an inquiry into possible reasons for the time lag in utilization of statistical developments by sociological research workers.

### SELECTED FIELDS OF STATISTICAL METHOD NOT BEING FULLY UTILIZED BY SOCIOLOGISTS

**Sampling.** Sampling has had more publicity in the last years than most other fields of statistics, due in no small part to the popular interest in commercial public opinion polls. In their narrower aspects, however, sampling methods contribute to sociological research mainly in a negative way—they help the researcher to prevent making certain types of mistakes in drawing conclusions and they reduce costs in obtaining data. Possibly because of this very feature, the idea of scientific sampling has had more favorable reception by sociologists than other developments in methods of quantification and analysis of quantitative data. Statistically valid ways of getting a reduction in the number of units to be studied can be accepted without too much resistance

because while they save time and money, they do not involve specification of the nature of the information to be obtained or the methods of its analysis.

Even so, use of valid and efficient methods of sampling is still rather limited in sociological research. An agency in the Federal government cannot undertake a research project in any of the social science fields without a careful review of its plan of sampling by statistical technicians in the Division of Statistical Standards of the Bureau of the Budget. But the fraction of research done by Federal government agencies which could be classified as "sociological" is very small. The great majority of "sociological research" is carried on in state and private universities and colleges by faculty members of academic departments of sociology or rural sociology and their graduate students. A few private research agencies conduct research of interest to sociologists, but I know of none which identifies its research program as primarily "sociological." Therefore the bulk of "research methodology in sociology" in the United States is that which is practiced in academic institutions. I have made no systematic survey of the situation, but it is my impression that the number of academic departments of sociology in which expert sampling consulting aid is available and utilized in the planning of all sociological research projects involving sampling constitutes only a small fraction of the entire number of departments in which sociological research of some sort is being carried on.

The recent developments in sampling most immediately applicable to the sociological study of many problems consist of accumulation of materials, tools, and techniques for sampling rather than developments in the statistical theory of sampling. Certain federal agencies and state institutions have assembled maps and other materials which are appropriate for many types of sampling, including the sampling of human populations, or defined sectors of them, over broad or localized areas. These sampling resources are available to research workers generally at very low cost and are increasingly being used, although

\*Read before the 41st Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society, Chicago, Illinois, December 28, 1946.

as yet very rarely by those engaged in "sociological research."<sup>1</sup>

*Methods of time series analysis.* Sociologists have generally not utilized one group of methods of statistical analysis that has been available for some decades, although still in process of development—the methods of time series analysis. This is somewhat surprising in view of the wide interest among sociologists in the operation of social processes and in social change generally. It is possible that one factor operating against the sociologist's use of time series analysis has been resistance to adopting methods developed mainly by economists, as many sociologists have striven to get recognition of the uniqueness of the contribution of "sociological" research, which does not rest heavily on research methods borrowed or adapted from other fields.

Another factor which may have accounted for the slight use of time series methods by sociologists is a tendency on the part of some sociologists to consider the real phenomena of interest to sociologists as more or less timeless and imbued with a universality that is relatively unaffected by changes in the current scene. There has probably been a greater than proportionate share of sociological research effort directed to cultural islands and groups which show conspicuous time lags, at the expense of studies on the main stream of contemporary social change, greatly influenced by periods of national prosperity and depression.<sup>2</sup>

By far the most important factor in limiting the sociologist's use of time series analysis, however, has been the lack of adequate data collected periodically at short enough intervals to reveal responses in social phenomena to events and conditions of national importance, such as war and general economic conditions, as well as the more permanent, long-time trends. Population censuses, the main source in the past, were limited in the nature of data collected and were taken only once in ten years. Occasionally local sources

of data on one or another type of social phenomena have been used by sociologists in time series studies, but the instances are rare in which the data and the treatment were such that the research could be termed an exhaustive time series analysis.<sup>3</sup>

It is especially in the function of permitting data suitable for time series analysis by sociologists to become available that applications of sampling hold great promise for sociological research. The contribution of sampling to sociological research which I hope will take place is in expanding the horizons of the field in which sociologists work through making possible the obtaining of data. Once currency and periodicity are possible in basic data, I believe many sociologists will be lured from ivory towers to observe and analyze the dramatically changing social scene in which we are living. These analyses of the future will doubtless diminish the separateness of sociological research from that of the other social sciences, since the changing social phenomena on which primary attention is to be focused will be interrelated with political, economic, and technological changes. In a paper given to the Society last year, specific illustrations were cited of the type of contribution sociologists might make by time series analyses in one field.<sup>4</sup>

*Methods of Scale and Index Construction.* Another group of methods which rely heavily on statistics has a tremendous potential contribution to sociological research—the various methods of scale and index construction. Certain sociologists have made notable contributions in developing these methods, although the psychologists and social psychologists who identify themselves with psychology rather than sociology were the pioneers in the field. Thus most progress in fields of special interests to sociologists has been made in those closely bordering on psychology—opinions, attitudes, intentions, etc.—although there have

<sup>1</sup> Sampling materials and services are available from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture for rural areas of the United States, and from the Bureau of the Census, United States Department of Commerce for cities.

<sup>2</sup> Notable exceptions are the thirteen research memoranda prepared under the direction of the Committee on Studies in Social Aspects of the Depression of the Social Science Research Council.

<sup>3</sup> Dorothy Swaine Thomas has provided the best examples of a sociologist's use of methods of time series analysis in *Social Aspects of the Business Cycle* (London, 1926), and in *Social and Economic Aspects of Swedish Population Movements, 1750-1933* (New York, 1941).

<sup>4</sup> Margaret Jarman Hagood and Louis J. Ducoff, "Some Measurement and Research Problems Arising from Sociological Aspects of a Full Employment Policy," *American Sociological Review* (October, 1946), pp. 560-67.

been important developments in scale construction in more strictly sociological fields, especially in various ramifications of socio-economic status.<sup>5</sup>

My appraisal of the sociologist's use of scale and index construction methods is most favorable; I deplore only the limited research areas in which they have been applied and the lack of constructive imagination of the specialists in various sub-fields in adapting the available methods and techniques to the social phenomena of special interest to themselves. Quantifiability as an attribute of phenomena is relative to the state of scientific progress in the field of study. I believe that a much wider range of the total phenomena in which sociologists are interested could be quantified, even though quite imperfectly at first, and subjected to much more rigorous analyses than are possible in the present stage of development of measurement techniques. Exercise of creative imagination in adapting methods already in existence to the problems of measurement of a wide and varied range of social phenomena could lead to tremendous progress in developing sociology as a science.

*Methods of Multivariate Analysis.* A science is not fully-blown when it merely achieves the ability to count or measure its phenomena. Next must come the analyses of interrelationships which seek to explain causes of differences or of changes that make possible an explanation of the past and, under given assumptions, the prediction of the future. Multivariate analysis is a term which, to the statistically untrained, conjures up frightening visions of many equations filled with mathematical and statistical symbols. But in its broadest meaning multivariate analysis embraces all of the statistical methods for analyzing relationships between two or more sets of phenomena which vary over time or which are manifested by different units of observation at a given time.<sup>6</sup> Some sociologists have alleged that statistical studies can only describe phenomena

and that qualitative studies alone can get at the "why" underlying social change. This view probably arises from the fact that, in most areas of sociological research, measurement techniques and data collection have not been sufficiently advanced to permit full exploration of what statistical methods of analyzing relationships can offer. Important contributions have been made by sociologists in the last decade both in the development of methods of multivariate analysis and in their application to certain specialized fields, with emphasis focused on the attainment of valid methods of prediction.<sup>7</sup> But in a wide area of phenomena and problems with which sociologists deal, the lag in quantification and data collection has made impossible the full utilization of multivariate analysis methods. Thus in most areas of sociological research there has not been an opportunity to appraise fairly the extent to which statistics can contribute in identifying and verifying factors of social causation. Certainly the production of undigested correlation coefficients as has frequently been done in social research projects should not be regarded as the maximum that multivariate analysis can offer to sociological research.

#### WHY THE LAG IN APPLICATION OF STATISTICAL METHODS BY SOCIOLOGISTS?

This brief review of the unrealized potential contributions of statistics to research methods in sociology leads one to question why there is such a tremendous gap between the potential contributions and the contributions truly assimilated in the practice of sociological research.

*Older Sociologists Not Trained in Statistics.* One reason for the lag is that academic departments of sociology, like the majority of other agencies and enterprises, are generally headed by older persons whose academic training was taken some decades ago. At that time a curriculum including the theory and application of statistical methods to sociological research problems was generally not available to persons in American or European universities. It is natural, therefore, that the influence of sociologists untrained in

<sup>5</sup> A listing of the contributors and contribution in these fields would require a lengthy bibliography. Among those who identify themselves as sociologists would be F. S. Chapin, W. H. Sewell, R. F. Sletto, V. M. Sims, E. W. Burgess, L. S. Cottrell, S. A. Stouffer, L. Guttman.

<sup>6</sup> For examples of economic applications of some of the newer methods, see Gerhard Tintner, "Some Applications of Multivariate Analysis to Economic Data," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* (December, 1946).

<sup>7</sup> See E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage* (New York, 1939); Paul Horst et al. (largely sociologists), *The Prediction of Personal Adjustment*, Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 48 (New York, 1941), and recent articles in various journals by L. Guttman.



statistical methods should weigh heavily in affecting the types of training to undergraduate and graduate students, the nature of research problems undertaken by them, the kinds of research methods and techniques used and the formation of their attitudes regarding the utility of statistical methods in sociological research.

*Selection of Sociology Majors.* Another factor that I believe operates, although I have no quantitative evidence to document this belief, is the effect of selection in the process by which is determined those students who enter sociology as a major field of work. It is my impression that the brightest students usually like and do well in almost any academic subject they study. Consequently, by the end of their sophomore year in college, they usually have chosen their major field from the various courses required in the first two years of study. Until fairly recently, most colleges and universities offered sociology only to students in the last two years of college and thus sociology did not have a chance to compete as a choice of major subject by many of the brighter students who quickly became absorbed by some one or more fields to which they were exposed during the first two years of college work. Thus sociology departments have drawn a disproportionate share of majors from the students who manifested no special inclinations for the types of courses taken in the first two years. This tended to reduce sharply the proportions among undergraduate sociology majors of students who were good in mathematics or who responded to the challenge of scientific inquiry afforded in the physical science courses required during the first two years of college. Moreover, because of the lack of rigorous scientific standards, sociology has been considered, on many college campuses, an "easy" subject in which to major. As a consequence, sociology majors included a larger than proportionate share of left-overs and persons without strong intellectual drives, and a smaller than proportionate share of those who early manifested a scientific bent or flair for the quantitative.

The same sort of factors appear to have operated to some extent in selection of sociology majors at the graduate level. Added to this has been the fact that sociology has drawn its recruits from graduate work fairly heavily from persons with religious, reformistic, or welfare motivation, and less heavily from the more scientifically oriented students. I do not venture to estimate

how much of the lag these selective factors explain but I believe they are important.

*Prevalence of "Anti-economics" Attitude Among Sociologists.* Another factor which may have delayed sociologists' adoption of statistical methods appropriate to their research problems is the "anti-economics" feeling that has existed in many academic departments of sociology. In an attempt to demonstrate that other than economic factors are of basic importance in social and societal phenomena, some sociologists have deliberately cut themselves off from the fields and methods of research which they identify with economics. Because economists have generally utilized statistical methods more than sociologists, some sociologists have avoided statistical methods, thinking of them as "economics-tainted" tools. Similarly, they have avoided some of the fruitful fields for research bordering on the field of economics to which sociological effort could well be directed.

#### OUTLOOK FOR FULLER UTILIZATION OF STATISTICAL METHODS BY SOCIOLOGISTS

The short-time prospects for closing the gap between potential and actual contributions of statistics to sociological research methodology are not very bright. The great deficit in professional training caused by World War II was especially marked in the case of training in the application of statistical methods to social research. During the war, a large proportion of the sociologists with statistical training left college and university faculties to enter military or government service. Thus university training in the field of quantitative research methods in sociology for graduate students (preponderantly female) was severely handicapped during the war by lack of faculty members who were equipped to provide such training. Meanwhile the need for social scientists with adequate statistical training has expanded rapidly in the last five years. Governments and international agencies are offering severe competition to universities and colleges for services of those persons who are able to teach academic courses in quantitative methods of social research. These conditions mean a lengthening of the time period that will be required for closing the gap between potential and actual uses of statistical methods in sociological research.

The long-time outlook for fuller utilization

of statistical methods in sociological research is much brighter. Eventually sociologists will surely become sufficiently realistic to utilize all appropriate research tools that are available and to provide adequate training in their use for social research-workers-to-be. An accompanying advance may be the focusing of sociological studies on significant areas of interest that have hitherto been slighted partly because of insufficient data.

Meanwhile, the methods of statistics will themselves be subject to continuous developments, improvements, and adaptations for application to wider areas of research. For example, one of the most important statistical advances in recent years was the development during the war of the theory of sequential analysis and its application to certain types of research. So far, no applications of these newly developed statistical methods to sociological research have come to my attention, but they certainly offer a challenge to social

statisticians to explore their utility.<sup>8</sup> In statistics, the development of new methods has sometimes been initiated in purely theoretical fields of statistics and at other times in special applied fields. Not every type of statistical method that is useful in one applied field of research is equally applicable in other fields. Nevertheless, the general field of statistical methods is unusually fortunate in that it continually grows from contributions of both theoretical statisticians and research workers in other fields who use statistics as a tool. It is probable that the body of statistical methods and techniques potentially adaptable to sociological research will continue to grow and will continue to keep ahead of sociological applications for some time to come.

<sup>8</sup> An application of sequential analysis to the field of education by an economic statistician has just appeared in D. J. Cowden, "An Application of Sequential Sampling to Testing Students," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* (December 1946).

## THE CONCEPT OF THE SUB-CULTURE AND ITS APPLICATION

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ONE of the functions of any science, "natural" or "social," is admittedly to discover and isolate increasingly smaller units of its subject matter. This process leads to more extensive control of variables in experiment and analysis. There are times, however, when the scientist must put some of these blocks back together again in an integrated pattern. This is especially true where the patterning reveals itself as a logical necessity, with intrinsic connections which create something more, so to speak, than the mere sum of the parts. Specifically, in the social sciences, this patterning is necessary where the impact of the nexus on the human being is that of a unit, and not a series of disconnected social situations. This paper represents an attempt to delineate such a nexus by a logical extension of the concept of culture.

American sociologists, on the whole, have seemed reluctant to extend the concept of culture beyond the point where it has already been developed and more or less handed to us by the anthropologists. We hear an occasional reference to "urban cul-

ture," or "rural culture," or "the culture of the middle class," but these references have seemed to represent sporadic resting-places of semantic convenience rather than any systematic application of the term to well-defined social situations. Broadly speaking, we have been content to stop the concept of culture at national boundaries, and engage in our intra-national analyses in terms of the discrete units of ethnic background, social class, regional residence, religious affiliation, and so on. It is the thesis of this paper that a great deal could be gained by a more extensive use of the concept of the *sub-culture*—a concept used here to refer to a sub-division of a national culture, composed of a combination of factorable social situations such as class status, ethnic background, regional and rural or urban residence, and religious affiliation, but *forming in their combination a functioning unity which has an integrated impact on the participating individual*. No claim is made here for origination of the term. Although its use has apparently not been extensive enough to merit it a place in the *Dictionary of Sociology*,

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edited by Fairchild,<sup>1</sup> a recent and perceptive use of the term has been made in a paper by Green, where he speaks incidentally of "highly organized subcultures," and, in connection with the question of neuroses, phrases a query in the following manner: "Since in modern society no individual participates in the total cultural complex totally but primarily in a series of population segments grouped according to sex, age, class, occupation, region, religion, and ethnic group—all with somewhat differing norms and expectations of conduct—how do these combine in different ways to form varying backgrounds for individual etiologies of neurotic trends?"<sup>2</sup>

Green, by implication, uses the terms "sub-culture" and "population segment" interchangeably. Nomenclature is relatively unimportant so long as it is consistent, but we prefer the former term since it seems to emphasize more directly the dynamic character of the framework within which the child is socialized. It is a world within a world, so to speak, but it is a world. The emphasis in this paper, then, is simply on the unifying and transmuting implications of the term "sub-culture" for such combinations of factors as ethnic group, social class, region, occupation, religion, and urban or rural residence, and on the need for its wider application.

A primary and major implication of this position is that the child growing up in a particular sub-culture feels its impact as a unit. For instance, the son of lower-class Italian immigrants, growing up in New York's upper East Side, is not a person who is simultaneously affected by separable items consisting of ethnic background,

low-economic status, and a highly urbanized residential situation. He is a person whose environmental background is an interwoven and variegated combination of all these factors. Each of the elements has been somewhat transformed by virtue of its combination with the others. This fact must be taken into consideration in research procedures dealing with environmental backgrounds and their effects. A corollary of this position is that identically named factors in different sub-cultures are not interchangeable. Thus being a middle-class Jew is not the same thing as being a middle-class Gentile except for the additional factor of being Jewish.

A wider use of the concept of the *sub-culture* would, in the opinion of this writer, give us a keen and incisive tool which would, on the one hand, prevent us from making too broad groupings where such inclusiveness is not warranted (we would, for instance, refer not so much to "the Negro," as to "Southern, rural, lower-class Negroes," or "North, urban, middle-class Negroes," etc.<sup>3</sup>), and, on the other hand, enable us to discern relatively closed and cohesive systems of social organization which currently we tend to analyze separately with our more conventional tools of "class" and "ethnic group." The writer, for instance, has been interested to observe in the city of Philadelphia a not entirely cohesive, but unmistakably present, sub-culture composed of members of the Society of Friends (Quakers), and ranging in class position from upper-middle to upper-upper. More conventional objects of sociological attention, second and third generation Jews, would seem, for the most part, to be neither "marginal men" in the Park and Stonequist phrase, nor competitors in the social class system with white Gentiles, but rather members of highly integrated "marginal sub-cultures" (called marginal here because, like the "marginal man," these sub-cultures composed of the descendants of immigrant Jews lie somewhere between the immigrant culture and the native Gentile culture and contain cultural contributions from both) whose variable elements are size of community of residence and social class.

A distinction must, of course, be made between separate sub-cultures and separate units of the

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionary of Sociology*, Henry Pratt Fairchild, ed. (New York, 1944); the nearest concept in the *Dictionary* is that of the "culture-sub-area," which is defined as "a sub-division of a larger culture area, distinguished by the comparative completeness of the development of a particular culture trait, or the comparative readiness with which such a trait will be diffused" (p. 83). The emphasis here is obviously on *area*—physical contiguity, which factor may, or may not, or may only partially be present in the *sub-culture*. Thus groups of lower-class white Protestants may live in different sections of the same city. Or middle-class Jews may be scattered over a medium-sized city and still form a social entity (see, for instance, W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups*, Yankee City Series, Vol. 3, New Haven: Conn., 1945, p. 51).

<sup>2</sup> Arnold W. Green, "Sociological Analysis of Horney and Fromm," *The American Journal of Sociology*, LI (May 1946), p. 534.

<sup>3</sup> The writer is aware of the increasing attention which is being given, especially to class-differentiation in the Negro group. Progress in this direction with other ethnic groups, such as, for instance, the Jews, has not been so marked.



same sub-culture. Thus lower-class white Protestants in one medium-sized New England city would presumably belong to the same sub-culture as lower-class white Protestants in another medium-sized New England community hundreds of miles away, though each group would constitute a separate unit. Whether lower-class white Protestants in a medium-sized community in the Middle-West would form a different sub-culture is a more difficult point. The question of whether variation of one factor is sufficient to set up a separate sub-culture would have to be answered empirically by a field study of the community situations in question.

A comprehensive application of the sub-cultural concept to the American scene would, in time, lead to the delineation of a fairly large number of sub-cultures of varying degrees of cohesiveness and with varying patterns of interaction with each other. Among the many further research problems which such an analysis would pose, six of particular interest to the writer are mentioned here:

1. How do the various sub-cultures rank on a scale of differential access to the rewards of the broader American culture, including both material rewards and status?

2. How is the experience of growing up in a particular sub-culture reflected in the personality structure of the individual? Is there a portion of the personality which is roughly equivalent to a similar portion of the personality of every other individual who has matured in the same sub-culture, and which might, then, be referred to as the "sub-cultural personality"? If Kardiner's hypothesis of a common "basic personality structure" for all participants in the same national culture<sup>4</sup> is valid, it would seem equally likely that a second tier of the personality, so to speak, would consist of the "sub-cultural personality structure."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Abram Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society* (New York, 1939). See particularly p. vi, and p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> The Warner and Lunt concept of the "social personality," which this writer would like to have seen more fully developed than it was in the Yankee City Series, seems to fluctuate between the idea of the sub-cultural personality offered here, and something different. For instance, in one paragraph they state, "Because a given individual occupies a particular place in the social space of a given society, out of the multitude of places it would be possible for him to be in, and participates in this one place, he has a social personality *different from*

3. In what way are identical elements of the national culture refracted differentially in the sub-culture? We have been prone, perhaps, to assume uniformities which do not entirely exist. Football, to male adolescents of one sub-culture may mean the chance to hawk programs and peanuts and make some money, to those of another, enthusiastic attendance at the High School game on Saturday afternoon, and to those of still a third, inviting girls up to the campus for a house-party week-end.

4. What are the most indicative indices of participation in a particular sub-culture? If any one had to be singled out, the writer would offer speech patterns (particularly pronunciation and inflection) as at once the easiest to "observe" and the most revealing. Clothes would probably rank next in indicativeness and ease of discernability—contrary to casual opinion, for men as well as women.

5. What explains the "deviant," that is, the person who does not develop the sub-cultural or social personality characteristic of the particular sub-culture in which he was born and nurtured? An interesting question here is whether there are particular combinations of biological characteristics which would adjust more or less easily to the sub-cultural personalities specifically demanded. What about the above-average in intelligence and sensitive boy, for instance, born into a sub-culture of low-status and rather rough behavior patterns? or, conversely, the son of professional parents who cannot make the grade at college but would much rather be out tinkering with the motor of his automobile?

6. In upward social mobility, does a change of "sub-cultural personality" invariably accompany acquisition of some of the more objective indices of higher status, such as wealth or more highly valued occupation? If not, what stresses and strains result? This last question, in the writer's opinion, is a most interesting one, and in the growing literature on social mobility, to his knowledge, has barely been touched.

*that of anyone else.*" (Italics my own.) On the other hand, in another passage they speak of "Individuals with similar social personalities." W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* (Yankee City Series, Vol. 1. New Haven: Conn., 1941), pp. 26-27. Again the writer would reiterate that he has no emotional stake in any specific nomenclature.



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## PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### SOCIAL ASPECTS OF SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE AGED POPULATION\*

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ONE of the significant trends in the population of the United States of the twentieth century has been an increase in the number and proportion of old people. If we arbitrarily fix the age of 60 years as the point where a person becomes old and if we consider only the native white members of our population, we find that from 1900 to 1940 the number of aged people increased from 2,931,999 to 9,667,991 and the proportion of old people to the total population rose from 5.2 to 9.1 percent. Thus it can be seen that the increase in the aged population during the 40 years was almost 230 percent (229.7) whereas the total population of the nation increased only 88.7 percent.

Another interesting characteristic of our population is that women have a lower mortality rate at almost all ages and consequently a longer life span than have the men. In 1900 the average length of life of white males and females in the United States was 48.23 and 51.08 years respectively.<sup>1</sup> Women had an average life span of almost three years (2.85) longer than men. In 1944 the expectation of life at birth for white males was 63.55 years and that of white women was 68.95 years.<sup>2</sup> Then the average length of life of women was slightly more than five years longer than that of men. In other words the difference in the life span of men and women increased from

2.85 to 5.40 years, an increase of 89.5 percent during the 44 years.

With the characteristic tendency of women to live longer than men it is to be expected that our aged population would have a high proportion of its members women. If we consider only the "native white" population of the United States for the year 1940, we notice that between the ages of 40 and 60 years the sex ratio is 100 or above.<sup>3</sup> In other words there are about as many men of that age group as there are women (see Tables 1 and 2). From the ages of 60 years through the 75 years and above the sex ratio falls rapidly until at the age of 75 years and above there are only about 84 men for every 100 women.

The sex ratio of our population varies from one region to another and from one residential group to another. The sex ratio of the Northeastern States<sup>4</sup> in 1940 for population 75 and more years of age was 72.3, or for every 10 women there were about 7 men of that age. In the South, however, there were about 9 men 75 years of age and older for every 10 women of that age. The differences in the sex distribution of the aged population on the basis of residential groups of our nation are more marked than is true of the

\* Sex ratio refers to the number of men in a population for each 100 women.

<sup>4</sup> In this study states included in the Northeastern group are: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey; and Southern States are: Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas.

\* Read before the tenth annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, Knoxville, Tennessee, April 11, 1947.

<sup>1</sup> Marion B. Smith, *Survey of Social Science*, rev. ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1945), p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> *Statistical Bulletin*, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York, Vol. 27, No. 5 (May 1946).

regional differences. In the urban group, for example, there are just about two men 75 years of age and older for every three women of the same age, and residential group (sex ratio 68.7); in the rural-nonfarm group there are about 9 men for every 10 women 75 years of age and over (sex ratio 91.6); and in the rural-farm population

gives rise to some questions of social significance. One may well ask, where do the aged men and women live? Obviously they can't all be married and living with their aged spouses in their own domiciles. Also one may wish to know how the aged people live, i.e., what is the source of their income? In our aged population with its pre-

TABLE 1  
SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE NATIVE WHITE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES: 1940\*

AGE	UNITED STATES TOTAL			NORTHEASTERN STATES			SOUTHERN STATES		
	Sex Ratio	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	Male	Female
30-34	99.2	4,230,325	4,267,062	97.3	1,156,756	1,189,398	98.8	1,200,440	1,215,689
35-39	99.5	3,724,204	3,744,061	97.5	983,079	1,007,961	98.7	1,055,284	1,069,627
40-44	100.1	3,338,408	3,334,605	97.5	879,176	901,427	100.3	911,156	908,034
45-49	100.7	3,025,638	3,003,193	97.6	760,939	779,573	101.5	823,401	811,031
50-54	100.9	2,568,375	2,546,364	95.9	617,751	644,135	102.5	707,544	690,009
55-59	100.00	2,054,198	2,053,897	94.0	480,450	511,009	101.4	575,481	567,295
60-64	98.3	1,659,153	1,688,665	73.5	320,707	436,457	101.1	469,414	464,281
65-69	95.8	1,314,177	1,372,341	86.6	311,421	359,584	100.9	383,058	379,636
70-74	94.4	873,177	925,209	83.5	211,781	253,531	101.4	236,993	233,762
75-99	84.5	840,154	994,247	72.3	202,729	280,539	90.3	320,470	244,325

\* *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, "Population,"* Volume IV, Part I, Table 3, pp. 13, 98, 99.

TABLE 2  
SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE NATIVE WHITE POPULATION BY RESIDENCE: 1940\*

AGE	URBAN			RURAL-NONFARM			RURAL-FARM		
	Sex Ratio	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	Male	Female
30-34	94.6	2,473,764	2,614,427	104.2	961,554	923,275	109.0	795,007	729,360
35-39	95.3	2,150,917	2,257,815	106.8	839,044	785,971	104.9	734,243	700,275
40-44	95.4	1,914,297	2,006,515	109.3	723,035	661,603	105.2	701,076	666,487
45-49	95.3	1,686,541	1,768,903	108.8	639,598	587,881	108.2	699,519	646,409
50-54	93.9	1,382,660	1,471,919	106.7	537,072	503,597	113.6	648,643	570,848
55-59	91.2	1,056,641	1,159,123	103.0	435,208	422,455	119.1	562,349	472,319
60-64	86.4	827,667	958,526	101.0	363,156	359,189	126.3	468,330	370,950
65-69	80.7	625,728	775,698	98.3	306,302	311,529	134.0	382,077	285,114
70-74	77.9	411,393	528,415	98.6	216,953	219,971	138.5	244,831	176,814
75-99	68.7	385,112	560,227	91.6	225,706	246,483	122.3	229,336	187,537

\* *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, "Population,"* Volume IV, Part I, Table 3, pp. 13 and 14.

for every 10 women 75 years of age and older there are more than 12 men of the same age and residential group (sex ratio 122.3). Thus we see that for every 10 women there are almost twice as many men in the rural-farm population as in the urban group at the age of 75 years and above.

The fact that there are more women in the population of aged persons for the nation as a whole

dominance of women the matter of economic income or resources is a serious problem. The American culture pattern provides that the male shall work to earn the economic resources for his wife and family while his wife remains at home to perform the domestic duties—this pattern was especially characteristic of American culture when the aged group were young. As a conse-



quence of the American background most of the wives did not learn a vocation with which to earn a living. Thus the aged women are dependent upon the earnings of their husbands if they are living, the savings the couples accumulated during their more active years, or the subsistence provided by their children or the state in the form of old age relief.

#### WHERE DO THE OLD PEOPLE LIVE?

A partial answer to the question, "Where do they live?" may be secured by an examination

living in establishments with other people, their sons or daughters perhaps, or in some public or private institutions.

Since the average length of life of women is longer than that of men and since men tend to marry women who are three or more years younger than themselves, one would expect a larger proportion of women than of men to be widowed. Bossard in his study of marriages in Philadelphia points out that "As men grow older they tend to marry women increasingly younger than they are."<sup>5</sup> If this is characteristically true the older

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF MARRIED NATIVE WHITE POPULATION WITH SPOUSE PRESENT IN SAME HOUSEHOLD, BY AGE AND SEX FOR THE UNITED STATES AND SELECTED REGIONS\*

AGE IN YEARS	UNITED STATES		NORTHEASTERN STATES		SOUTHERN STATES	
	Men and Wives Present	Women and Husbands Present	Men and Wives Present	Women and Husbands Present	Men and Wives Present	Women and Husbands Present
60-64	95.2	95.1	93.9	93.7	96.0	95.8
65-69	95.0	94.5	93.6	92.8	95.7	95.2
70-74	94.8	93.8	93.2	91.7	95.5	94.4
75 and over	93.4	89.6	91.2	86.5	94.1	89.9

\* *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, "Population,"* Volume IV, Part I.

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE OF MARRIED NATIVE WHITE POPULATION WITH SPOUSE PRESENT IN SAME HOUSEHOLD, BY AGE, SEX, AND RESIDENCE\*

AGE IN YEARS	URBAN		RURAL-NONFARM		RURAL-FARM	
	Men and Wives Present	Women and Husbands Present	Men and Wives Present	Women and Husbands Present	Men and Wives Present	Women and Husbands Present
60-64	94.9	94.2	93.8	94.5	96.8	98.0
65-69	94.6	93.3	93.9	94.3	96.5	97.6
70-74	94.4	92.5	94.2	93.8	96.1	96.7
75 and over	93.0	88.0	93.3	90.3	94.3	92.8

\* *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, "Population,"* Volume IV, Part I, Table 9, pp. 25-26.

of the census reports on the marital status of the aged population. If they are married one may assume that they are living with their husbands or wives in their own establishments. This assumption is supported by the census reports which show that almost 95 percent of the aged men who are married are living in the same households with their wives, and that about 90 per cent of the aged women are residing in the same households with their husbands (Tables 3 and 4). If on the other hand the aged persons are not married they may be presumed to be

men who marry do not marry the older women, consequently the aged women who are widowed remain unmarried. The census reports support the expectations with regard to the higher proportion of unmarried aged women. A study of the 1940 census shows that at the age of 60 years about two out of five white women are either single or widowed whereas only one man in five

<sup>5</sup> J. H. S. Bossard, "The Age Factor in Marriage," *American Journal of Sociology*, 38 (January 1933), pp. 536-547.

is single or widowed at that age. The proportion of women and of men who are unmarried rises rapidly with advance in age beyond 60 years until at the age of 75 years and more four out of five women and about one-half of the men are no longer married.

If one compared the aged population of the Northeastern States with that of the South he notes that the proportion of widowed men 60 years of age is somewhat higher in the former group than that of the men of the same age in the

On comparing the marital status of aged men and women on the basis of their residence one finds that the percentage of widowed men is somewhat higher in the urban group than in either the rural-nonfarm or the rural-farm group, however the difference is at no age significant (Table 6). The proportion of urban women 60 years of age and more who are widowed is considerably greater than is true of either the rural-nonfarm or the rural-farm groups. One-third of the urban women 60 years of age are widowed

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE OF AGED NATIVE WHITE POPULATION MARRIED AND WIDOWED BY AGE AND SEX FOR THE NATION AND SELECTED REGIONS: 1940\*

AGE	NATION				NORTHEASTERN STATES				SOUTHERN STATES			
	Married		Widowed		Married		Widowed		Married		Widowed	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
60-64	76.8	58.7	10.7	30.3	76.0	56.2	11.9	30.4	81.5	58.0	10.1	33.2
65-69	72.0	47.4	15.8	41.8	70.6	45.3	17.5	41.0	77.0	46.0	14.8	45.4
70-74	65.1	34.9	23.4	54.5	62.5	33.0	26.3	53.3	70.6	33.4	21.6	58.0
75 and over	50.2	18.0	39.7	79.9	47.3	17.2	52.1	69.5	54.6	16.7	38.1	75.1

\* *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, "Population,"* Volume IV, Part I, Table 30, pp. 105-108 and Table 6, p. 17.

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE OF AGED NATIVE WHITE POPULATION MARRIED AND WIDOWED BY AGE, SEX, AND RESIDENCE: 1940\*

AGE	URBAN				RURAL-NONFARM				RURAL-FARM			
	Married		Widowed		Married		Widowed		Married		Widowed	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
60-64	76.8	53.8	11.1	33.3	75.1	60.8	11.2	29.9	78.4	72.8	9.6	20.9
65-69	71.6	42.5	16.4	44.8	70.7	49.9	16.1	41.2	74.2	61.0	14.2	32.3
70-74	64.2	30.8	24.4	57.1	64.5	38.0	23.1	53.2	67.4	46.3	21.6	46.6
75 and over	49.6	15.9	40.6	73.1	50.9	20.1	38.2	71.6	50.6	22.7	39.3	70.3

\* *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, "Population,"* Volume IV, Part I, Table 6, p. 18-20.

South. With increasing age the difference increases until at the age of 75 years and above the proportion of widowed men in the Northeastern States is 36.7 percent higher than in the Southern States. In the case of aged women who are widowed the reverse of the conditions mentioned above exists. A larger proportion of aged women in the South are widowed than is true in the Northeastern States. The difference in the case of women is not great and is fairly constant with a range from 9.2 percent greater in the South at the age of 60 years to 8.1 percent at the age of 75 years and above (Table 5).

and almost three-fourths of those 75 years of age and above are no longer married.

From the evidence of the statements given above one may draw the conclusion that a large portion of the aged women are not living in domiciles over which they preside. Their marriage has been terminated and they are widowed. The census reports showing the composition of the population of households indicate that 12 percent of the women of the nation 60 to 64 years of age are living with their sons and daughters (Table 7). This percentage increases with increasing age until at the age of 75 and above

46.9 percent of the women are living with their sons and daughters. The proportion of old men who are living with their sons and daughters is at all ages considerably lower than that of the aged women. This fact is not surprising for, as has been pointed out, a larger proportion of women are widowed than is true of the men of the same age.

When we compare the number of aged women who are widowed with the number residing with their sons and daughters, we find that 30 percent of the urban and 39.1 percent of the rural-farm widowed women 60 years of age and 44.2 percent

spring to a greater extent than is true of the other residence groups.

The difference in the proportion of widowed men and widowed women residing with their children is but slight except in the rural-farm residential group. There the proportion of widowed mothers residing with their offspring is significantly higher than that of the widowed fathers. (Tables 9 and 10) Apparently the widowed man of years is better able to live in his own establishment after the death of his wife than is the wife to maintain the farm after the death of her husband.

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE OF AGED NATIVE WHITE POPULATION RESIDING WITH THEIR SONS OR DAUGHTERS FOR THE NATION AND SELECTED REGIONS\*

AGES	NATION		NORTHEASTERN STATES		SOUTHERN STATES	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
60-64	4.2	12.0	7.2	14.6	3.7	12.3
65-69	7.4	18.7	10.2	22.1	6.7	19.7
70-74	12.7	28.9	17.4	31.8	11.2	27.6
75 and over	26.5	46.9	31.2	46.0	23.8	42.9

\* *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, "Population,"* Volume IV, Part I, Table 34, pp. 115-118.

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGE OF AGED NATIVE WHITE POPULATION RESIDING WITH THEIR SONS OR DAUGHTERS BY AGE, SEX AND RESIDENCE\*

AGES	URBAN		RURAL-NONFARM		RURAL-FARM	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
60-64	5.2	14.1	3.6	9.6	2.7	9.1
65-69	9.1	21.0	6.1	14.2	5.7	17.3
70-74	15.5	30.2	9.5	19.3	11.0	28.2
75 and over	30.1	46.0	18.9	31.5	27.8	52.5

\* *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, "Population,"* Volume IV, Part I, Table 11, pp. 30-37.

of the urban and 63.2 percent of the rural-farm widowed women 75 and more years of age are living with their sons and daughters. It is interesting to note that, although the rural-farm aged widowed women are living with their sons and daughters to a greater extent than is found in the urban group, the rural-farm families have a lower percentage of aged women living with them than is characteristically true of urban families. This evidence indicated that the rural-farm life is not suited to the lone widowed woman, consequently she moves in to live with her off-

From the evidence cited it appears that from one-third to three-fourths of the aged women and from one-tenth to one-half of the aged men are not living in their own domiciles. There is no precise way of knowing just where the aged people who are not residing in their own homes do live; from about one in 10 to one-half of the aged women and from about one in 20 to one-fourth of the aged men are living with their sons or daughters. The remainder, those single and widowed but not living with their offspring, must be dwelling alone in their own domiciles, or residing in public or private institutions for aged men and women.



## HOW DO THEY LIVE?

The question of from what source do the aged people draw their economic support is important. Are they living with their sons and daughters but at the same time able to support themselves wholly or in part? Are they living in individual establishments over which they have control but are subsidized by their sons and/or daughters or by the state? Are they residing with their offspring and at the same time depending mainly or completely upon their sons and daughters for

emergency work, and those seeking employment. Those engaged in housework in their own domicile are not included. For the ages 65 to 74 years not quite half of the men (45.9 percent) are included in the labor force. At the age of 75 years and above this proportion declines to fewer than one in five of the men. The aged women are, as is to be expected, self-supporting to a much lower degree than are the men of the same age. In fact the men at the age of 75 years and more are included in the labor force of the Nation to a greater extent than is

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE OF AGED WIDOWED NATIVE WHITE POPULATION RESIDING WITH SONS AND DAUGHTERS, BY AGE AND SEX FOR THE UNITED STATES AND SELECTED REGIONS\*

AGE	UNITED STATES		NORTHEASTERN STATES		SOUTHERN STATES	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
60-64	28.8	30.7	27.6	29.0	25.0	27.0
65-69	35.5	34.9	34.5	33.6	30.0	30.1
70-74	40.1	38.0	39.5	37.6	35.7	34.4
75 and over	48.2	45.6	45.5	43.9	45.4	41.9

\* Compiled from *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, "Population,"* Tables 31 and 34, pp. 109-111; 115-118.

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE OF AGED WIDOWED NATIVE WHITE POPULATION RESIDING WITH SONS AND DAUGHTERS, BY AGE, SEX, AND RESIDENCE\*

AGE	URBAN		RURAL-NONFARM		RURAL-FARM	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
60-64	31.1	30.0	26.8	27.6	24.7	39.1
65-69	37.1	33.7	31.7	29.8	35.1	47.9
70-74	41.5	41.5	33.6	30.5	43.3	52.8
75 and over	47.9	44.2	38.9	36.4	58.2	63.2

\* Compiled from *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, "Population,"* Tables 6 and 11, pp. 17-20; 28-37.

support? These questions cannot be fully answered. We can, in this study, only provide a glimpse of what the situation is with regard to the financial support of our aged population.

By examining the 1940 census reports on the Labor Force of the United States we can arrive at some indication of the number and the proportion of old persons who are at least partially self-supporting. A study of Tables 11 and 12 indicate that at the age of 60 years about four-fifths of the men are in the labor force of the Nation. That includes those employed in some occupation, those temporarily absent from work, those on public

true of the women of the Nation 60 years of age (17.5 percent compared with 14.8 percent).

A higher proportion of aged women than of aged men are widowed; a larger percentage of the aged women than of the aged men are living with their sons and daughters; and a much higher proportion of aged men than of aged women are included in the labor force of the Nation. From these facts we may draw the following conclusions: (1) that a large part of the aged men are living in their own homes with their wives, and that they are wholly or in part self-supporting through their labor; (2) that a large portion of the elderly women are not

living in their own domiciles but in establishments with their sons or daughters and that they receive their support wholly or in part from their offspring or from the state in the form of old age relief.<sup>6</sup>

#### SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

The problem of economic support of the aged seems to resolve itself principally into a matter of meeting the material needs of the aged women. In the United States as a whole there are about a half million (500,045) men of the age of 60 years and above living with their sons and daughters, but

129.2 percent higher than the number of aged men. In the Southern States the problem is relatively greater than that for the Nation as a whole for there we find 121,890 aged men 60 years of age and above residing with their offspring and 352,890 aged women similarly situated. The aged women living with their sons and daughters in the South exceed in number the aged men by 146.9 percent.

The problem of support and care of the aged is most serious in the urban residential groups. There we find 279,623 aged men and 715,606 aged women living in the homes of their sons and daughters.

TABLE 11

PERCENTAGE OF AGED POPULATION IN THE LABOR FORCE\* FOR THE NATION AND SELECTED REGIONS†

AGE	NATION		NORTHEASTERN STATES		SOUTHERN STATES	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
60-64	78.7	13.6	77.4	14.8	80.2	11.6
65-69	58.8	8.6	58.0	9.9	62.8	7.4
70-74	37.8	4.6	35.7	5.3	43.7	4.3
75 and over	17.5	2.0	16.4	2.2	21.6	2.0

\* Labor Force includes "those at work, those with a job but temporarily absent from work, those on public emergency work, and those seeking work." Does not include those "engaged in own home housework, . . . those unable to work, all inmates of penal and mental institutions and homes for the aged."

† *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, "Population,"* Volume IV, Part I, Table 44, pp. 151-154.

TABLE 12

PERCENTAGE OF AGED POPULATION IN THE LABOR FORCE BY AGE, SEX, AND RESIDENCE\*

AGE	URBAN		RURAL-NONFARM		RURAL-FARM	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
60-64	77.1	16.1	72.2	12.1	87.9	6.8
65-69	54.9	9.9	48.5	7.1	75.6	5.8
70-74	32.5	5.0	27.8	3.8	58.8	4.4
75 and over	14.0	2.0	11.3	1.6	31.2	2.4

\* *Sixteenth Census of The United States: 1940, "Population,"* Volume IV, Part I, Table 24, pp. 90-93.

there are more than a million (1,146,124) such women. In other words the number of aged women residing in the homes of their offspring is

\* The extent of public—federal, state and local—assistance can be judged by the fact that in 1946 one person in five 65 years of age and over received such aid. In 1945, \$726,000,000 was expended for old age payments; 47 percent from the federal government, 46 percent from the states, and 7 percent from local funds. Russell H. Kurtz (ed.), *Social Work Year Book 1947*. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1947), pp. 374-375.

ters. The number of aged women residing with their offspring in the towns and cities is 155.9 percent greater than that of the aged men similarly located. The urban population supports 60 percent of all aged men and women residing with their sons and daughters.

The problem of supporting the aged parents is most serious in the urban population not only because there are more aged persons there who require the support of their sons and daughters, but the economic burden of caring for the aged parents is heavier there as a rule than in rural societies.

Space is much more at a premium in the towns and cities and additional space requires more money for rent, maintenance and operation of the household to a greater extent than is usually true in rural homes. The aged mothers and fathers require food and clothing which in the urban population must all be purchased with money. In rural localities much of the food can be produced by the families with the help of the aged persons. The clothing requirements are not so great in the rural-farm homes as in the city establishments. The sons and daughters residing in urban settlements are usually on fixed incomes which do not expand as the number of persons in the household increases. Often the younger couple find it difficult to meet the necessary financial obligations without the additional burden of the support of their aged mothers and fathers.

In urban localities there are fewer opportunities for the aged members to engage in activities which will partially pay their way. The housework and other necessary activities about the urban home do

not lend themselves to operation by old people to an extent comparable with opportunities around and in the rural household.

Another serious social problem growing out of the aged mothers' dwelling with their sons and daughters has to do with the matter of family adjustments. Many aged mothers feel that their age and experience entitle them to have a voice in the matters of the household—the rearing, care, training, and discipline of the children—and many other domestic affairs. The home has been their world throughout their lifetime and it is too much to expect of most aged women that they will live in the home and not try to take active direction of the household. This "intrusion" is often resented by the daughters-in-law and the sons-in-law and in some cases even by the daughters themselves. The home sometimes becomes divided and serious problems of reconciliation and adjustment result. In the more crowded homes the problems created by the addition of aged persons, more especially aged women, become of major importance.

## OLD-AGE DEPENDENCY IN OKLAHOMA

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### I

SINCE the beginning of the federal social security program, Oklahoma consistently has had the highest old-age assistance rates in the Nation. In 1940, 553 persons per 1,000 population 65 years of age and over in Oklahoma received old-age assistance; in Grant County the rate was 273, in Haskell County 850; and in 27 of the 77 counties it was 650 and over (see Map I). When more than one-half the population of any adult age group is dependent, there is a distinct social problem at hand which warrants study. It is important, therefore, to find out what factors are the most likely antecedents of a situation of this kind.

This paper analyzes the incidence of old-age dependency as reflected by assistance grants in Oklahoma in terms of 40 selected factors which are believed to be related in some degree to the problem. The hypothesis of this study is that dependency in old age is a result of certain measurable environmental factors which lie beyond the direct control of the individual. Some of these factors

probably are remote and indirect, others are more immediate and direct in their influence. In both cases it may be necessary to rely in part upon symptomatic evidences in the total situation. In any event, relationships must often be imputed when co-existence and frequent association are found in a given universe.<sup>1</sup>

The data for this study were taken from the annual statistical reports of the Oklahoma Department of Public Welfare and the United States Census of 1940. From the beginning of the social security program until 1940, it was not possible to establish a reliable control group against which to compare the dependent population 65 years of age and over. The ageing of the population is so rapid, due primarily to the early migrations of adults,

<sup>1</sup> The measurement of dependency is a precarious undertaking at best. Prior to the existence of legal machinery to provide for old-age dependency, the cynic might say, "There was no such thing." In this study, it is assumed that cases have been adequately defined and determined by those responsible for that task. Hence, there is no need to debate what comprises dependency.

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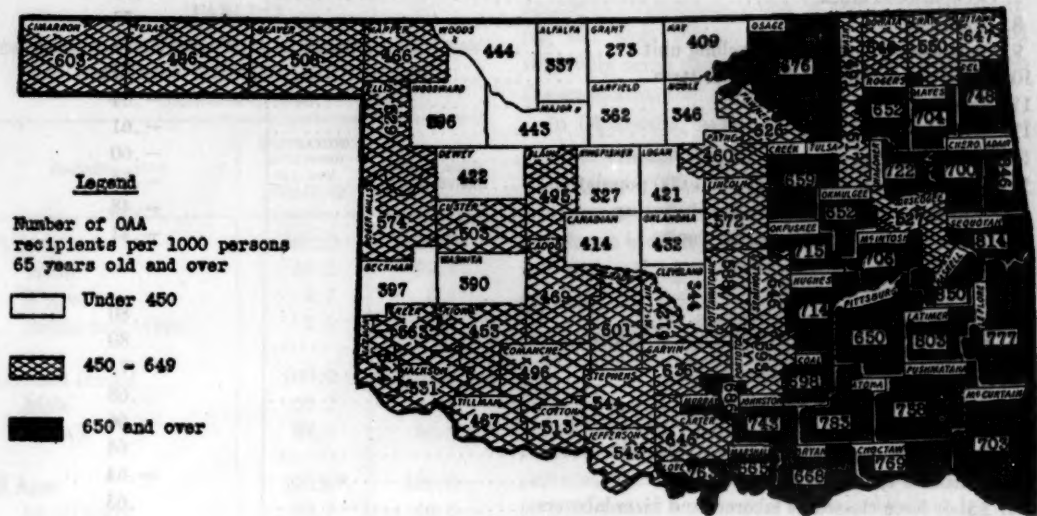
that numbers found by interpolation and extrapolation are not always trustworthy, and more especially is this true in view of the enormous movements of persons from Oklahoma since 1930. Therefore, a study of this kind should be based on actual census years.

## II

The incidence of old-age dependency, as reflected by assistance grants, appears to be related to at least three sets of factors: demographic, socio-economic, and administrative.

The density of population is an important determinant of old-age assistance rates in Okla-

Old-age dependency definitely increases with the higher ages of population. For example, a moderate degree of correlation, .68, obtains between the percentage of the total population aged 65 years and over and old-age assistance rates. Also, if high proportions of the total population are 65 and over, it is to be expected that septuagenarians and octogenarians are relatively frequent in number. This accentuates dependency, as is shown in Table 2. Of all persons 65 years old and older, 44.0 percent of those in the general population are between 65 and 69 years of age, but only 31.7 percent of the



Map I. Number of Recipients of Old-Age Assistance Per 1000 Persons 65 Years Old and Over in Oklahoma, 1940

MAP I—NUMBER OF RECIPIENTS OF OLD-AGE ASSISTANCE PER 1000 PERSONS 65 YEARS OLD AND OVER IN OKLAHOMA, 1940

homa. A correlation coefficient of .81 exists between the number of population per square mile and old-age assistance rates. Similarly, the percentage of all families with seven or more persons per unit and the average number of persons per dwelling correlate highly with these rates (Items 9 and 17 of Table 1). Another index which influences population density, the number of children under 5 per 1,000 women 15 to 44 years of age, is associated to a high degree with the rates studied (Item 6). These relationships prevail chiefly because of the heavy concentration of population and high birth rates in the poor land areas of the State (Item 10).

population receiving old-age assistance are in this age group. In contrast, 56.0 percent of the aged persons are 70 and over in the general population, but those who have reached this age comprise 68.3 percent of the dependent population. It can be concluded from these data that, as the proportions of aged persons increase in the general population, the burden of dependency increases disproportionately.<sup>2</sup> This poses important economic and social

<sup>2</sup> Further proof of this statement is shown by the latest available data. In 1946, the percentage distribution of OAA recipients by age groups was as follows: 65 to 69 years, 25.1 percent; 70 to 74 years, 30.7 percent; and 75 and over, 44.2 percent.

TABLE 1

COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN OLD-AGE ASSISTANCE RATES AND SELECTED SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS, BY COUNTIES OF OKLAHOMA, 1940

SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTIC*	COEFFICIENT OF CORRELATION
<i>Average or Rate:</i>	
1. Hagood's rural level of living index.....	-.85
2. Population per square mile.....	.81
3. Automobiles per 1,000 population.....	-.81
4. Children receiving aid to dependent children per 1,000 persons under 16 years old.....	.80
5. Median grade completed in school by population 25 years and over.....	-.80
6. Children under 5 per 1,000 women 15-44 years old.....	.79
7. Occupational index.....	-.79
8. Housing index.....	-.77
9. Population per occupied dwelling unit.....	.74
10. Value of land and buildings per farm.....	-.73
11. Retail sales per capita, 1939†.....	-.64
12. Bank deposits per capita, 1944†.....	-.61
13. Employed workers per 1,000 population.....	-.60
14. Federal income tax returns per 1,000 population.....	-.58
15. Wages per wage earner in manufacturing.....	-.48
16. Public school expenditures per capita.....	-.41
<i>Percent of:</i>	
17. Families with 7 or more persons.....	.80
18. Population over 24 years old with no schooling.....	.80
19. Farms classed as self-sufficing.....	.73
20. Population over 64 years of age.....	.68
21. Labor force unemployed.....	.66
22. Population under 15 and over 64 yrs. old.....	.64
23. Persons 5 to 20 yrs. old in school.....	-.64
24. Labor force classed as laborers and farm laborers.....	.63
25. High school grads. among pop. over 24 yrs. old.....	-.62
26. Population foreign-born white.....	-.60
27. Population 14 yrs. old and older unable to work.....	.55
28. Population under 15 years old.....	.55
29. Population classed as Indian or other race, except Negro.....	.52
30. Employed workers who are women.....	-.51
31. Change in population from 1930 to 1940.....	-.43
32. Acres of crop land (20 pct. or more) planted with cotton (biserial).....	.33
33. Men over 14 years old widowed or divorced, 1930.....	.30
34. Employed workers in agriculture.....	.28
35. Population classed as rural-nonfarm.....	.23
36. Women over 14 years old widowed or divorced, 1930.....	.22
37. Labor force classed as salary and wage workers.....	.11
38. Population (15 pct. or more) classed as Negroes (biserial).....	.11
39. Population classed as rural.....	.02
40. Population residing in incorporated villages.....	.01

\* All data were as of 1940, and the Pearson product-moment formula was used in calculating correlation coefficients unless otherwise specified.

† Data taken from *Oklahoma: County Basic Data*, Market Research Department, Farm Journal, Inc., Philadelphia, Pa.

problems because of the long term trend toward an older population in Oklahoma and other states.

Old-age assistance rates in Oklahoma are associated to a fairly high degree with other aspects of dependency. A correlation coefficient of .80 is found between these rates and the numbers of children per 1,000 persons under 16 years old receiving aid to dependent children from the State Department of Public Welfare. Also, the amounts of association between OAA rates and the proportions of the total population in the childhood ages or in both childhood and old-age groups (Items 20 and 22) indicate that areas with comparatively low

recipients of old-age assistance and the general population of comparable age.

The distribution of old-age assistance recipients by race shows that whites are under-represented and that Negroes and other races, including Indians, are over-represented in relation to their numbers in the general population (Table 2, and Items 29 and 38 of Table 1). An examination of persons accepted for assistance in different years indicate that foreign-born whites are on the dependency rolls in disproportionately large number.\* However, old age-assistance rates correlate negatively with the proportion of foreign-born whites in the total population of counties (Item 26). This apparent inconsistency can be reconciled by pointing out that certain counties have contributed relatively large numbers of foreign-born whites to the assistance rolls.

In Oklahoma, males outnumber females in the general old-age population, and the disparity is even greater among OAA recipients (Table 2). This excess in numbers of males receiving public assistance is due chiefly to the fact that, because of differences in age, many husbands become eligible for assistance before their wives do. Also, in a few cases the couple has other income, and only one person, ordinarily the husband, is granted assistance.

It is well known in welfare work that unattached persons, that is, single, widowed, and divorced persons, often are more likely than married persons to need public assistance. This holds true for the OAA population of Oklahoma. In a study of nearly 32,000 persons receiving assistance from November, 1936 to June, 1937, 49.2 percent were married, 42.0 percent widowed, 4.8 percent divorced or separated, and 4.0 percent never had been married.<sup>4</sup> In the general aged population reported by the 1930 Census, 55.1 percent were married, which by comparison indicates disproportionately heavy need among unattached persons (see Items 33 and 36).

The State Department of Public Welfare does not report OAA cases by residence, but in a study of these cases in October, 1944, it was found that

\* In 1940, 1.1 percent of the total population aged 65 and over were foreign-born whites. More than two percent of the persons accepted for assistance during the years 1937, 1938, and 1939 were foreign-born whites.

<sup>4</sup> *Public Welfare Review for December, 1937*, Oklahoma Department of Public Welfare, p. 2.

TABLE 2  
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION 65 YEARS  
OLD AND OLDER BY RACE, SEX, AND AGE,  
OKLAHOMA, 1940

CLASSIFICATION	POPULATION RECEIVING OLD-AGE ASSISTANCE	TOTAL POPU- LATION AGED 65 AND OVER†
All races	100.0	100.0
White	82.2	91.1
Negro	9.7	7.1
Indian and other	2.1	1.8
Male and female	100.0	100.0
Male	55.2	53.9
Female	44.8	46.1
All Ages	100.0*	100.0
65-69 years	31.7	44.0
70 to 74	34.6	28.2
75 and over	33.7	27.8

\* Percentages based on population June 30, 1941.

† Source: *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*. Population, Oklahoma, Second Series, Table 7.

ratios between workers and persons in the so-called "dependency" ages tend to have high assistance rates. This statement is confirmed further by the substantial correlation between old-age assistance rates and percentages of population 14 years old and over who are unable to work (Item 27). These data suggest that families burdened with several children at home or with members incapacitated for work by reason of ill-health or physical handicaps tend to be in a weak position to assume responsibility for care of aged relatives.

Data on race, sex, marital status, and residence disclose certain important differences between



17.6 percent of the recipients resided on farms and the remainder in villages and cities. The 1940 Census classes 39.7 percent of the total population as rural-farm. Data in Table 1 seems to confirm further that the farming population contributes less than its chance-expected proportion to the OAA rolls (Items 34, 35, 39 and 40).<sup>5</sup>

Old-age assistance rates correlate inversely with amounts of change in population between 1930 and 1940 (Item 31). The seven counties in the State which gained 20 percent or more population from 1930 to 1940 are among those with the highest assistance rates, the average rate for these counties being 718 as compared with the state rate of 553. The generalization can be made that during the depression decade population changes tended to accentuate rather than alleviate conditions with which high rates of old-age assistance are associated.

The old-age assistance rates reflect at many points the strengths and weaknesses of the social and economic organization of the State. The rates show high negative correlations with Hagood's rural level of living index, and a county housing index, both of these measures being valid reflectors of economic level (Items 1 and 8).<sup>6</sup> Similarly, a correlation coefficient of  $-.79$  is found between assistance rates and county occupational indexes. This index also furnishes a valid measure of economic status of counties.<sup>7</sup> The conclusion is war-

ranted that high dependency rates obtain in those counties where the occupational and economic status is low and *vice versa*. Further proof of this statement is found in the fairly high correlation between the percentage of labor force classed as laborers and farm laborers and the prevalence of old-age benefits (Item 24).

High old-age assistance rates are found in those counties adversely affected by declining oil activity, and unemployment in coal, lead, and zinc and lumber industries. These rates correlate positively to a moderate degree with the proportions of the total labor force unemployed, and negatively with the number of employed workers per 1,000 population and with the percentage of employed workers who are women (Items 13, 21, and 30).

The old-age assistance rates show high to moderate negative correlation with these economic criteria: number of automobile registrations per 1,000 population (Item 3), per capita retail sales in 1939 (Item 11), per capita bank deposits in 1944 (Item 12), number of federal income tax returns per 1,000 population (Item 14), and wages per wage earner in manufacturing in 1939 (Item 15).

Type of farming appears to be associated with dependency rates. In counties where self-sufficing farms predominate, high rates are in evidence (Item 19). Dependence on cotton in the cropping economy reflects a low positive correlation with old age assistance (Item 32).

Among the highest correlation coefficients found in this study are those between schooling of the population and old-age assistance rates (Items 5, 18, 23, and 25). Also, an inverse correlation exists between the average per capita school expenditures and the dependency rates (Item 16). These data suggest that deficiencies in schooling sooner or later are reflected in the failure of the population to make satisfactory adjustments to their social and economic situation.

The comparatively recent data and mode of settlement may be among the most important reasons why Oklahoma has higher OAA rates than other states. A small part of this State was opened to white settlers as early as 1889. In this and other parts of Oklahoma Territory settlers acquired ownership of real estate prior to 1907. It was not until 1907, however, that whites living in the old Indian Territory generally gained the right to own land. Also, it should be pointed out that the division of Indian lands resulted in relatively large numbers of small, uneconomic farming units which often failed to provide occupant families sufficient

<sup>5</sup> This agrees with the finding of Jacob Fisher in "Aged Beneficiaries, Assistance Recipients, and the Aged in the General Population," *Social Security Bulletin*, 9 (June 1946), p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Margaret Jarman Hagood, *Rural Level of Living Indexes for Counties of the United States, 1940* (Washington: U. S. D. A. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, October, 1943, Mimeographed). The county housing index is based on twelve items following a method of ranking described in Robert T. McMillan, "Comparison of Farm Housing Indexes For Oklahoma," *Social Forces*, 24 (December 1945), pp. 174-180.

<sup>7</sup> This preliminary county index was constructed through multiplying the number in each occupational class as reported in the Census by the following assigned weights: professional workers, 12; proprietors, managers, and officials, 11; semiprofessional workers, 10; clerical, sales, and kindred workers, 9; craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers, 8; farmers and farm managers, 7; operatives and kindred workers, 6; service workers, 5; unpaid family farm laborers, 4; farm laborers, 3; domestic service workers, 2; unskilled laborers, 1; and unemployed workers, 0; and dividing the resulting total by all persons in the labor force.

incomes for living and security in old age. Consequently, the settlers living in the western half of the State had more time and more favorable circumstances than those in the eastern half to accumulate savings in the form of landed property, which might give them greater security in old age. The OAA rates generally are lower in counties situated in Oklahoma Territory than those in counties located in the Indian Territory.

Before concluding this part of the study it is appropriate to submit additional evidence to support the foregoing observations. A comparison of changes by counties in numbers of old-age assistance cases between 1940 and 1946 discloses that a direct relationship exists between the size of assistance rates in 1940 and the proportional increase in cases since that date (Table 3).<sup>8</sup> The counties with the highest rates in 1940 have had

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN NUMBER OF RECEIPTS OF OLD-AGE ASSISTANCE BETWEEN 1940 AND 1946, BY COUNTIES OF OKLAHOMA ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SIZE OF ASSISTANCE RATES IN 1940

ASSISTANCE RATE GROUPS, 1940	NO. OF COUNTIES	NUMBER OF CASES, 1940	NUMBER OF CASES, 1946	PERCENTAGE INCREASE
All groups	77	80,187	94,006	17.2
Under 450	17	16,269	18,332	12.7
450-649	33	34,437	40,505	17.6
650 and over	27	29,481	35,169	19.3

the greatest relative increase in cases. One inference to be drawn from this relationship is that the factors responsible for the high incidence of dependency are operating with greater intensity as time passes.

Although general administrative procedures and available funds are important in determining the size of the State's case load for old-age assistance, there is little evidence that differences in rates from county to county can be traced to local administration. In an effort to determine the amount of variation which might be attributed to county administration, the assistance rate of each county was compared with the average rate of all adjacent counties. Differences cannot be wholly ascribed to local administration, because unusually favorable or unfavorable conditions in a given county

<sup>8</sup> The correlation coefficient between the number of cases in 1940 and 1946 by counties is .94.

may account for wide deviations from the average rate of bordering counties.

An examination of the data at hand reveals that the average OAA rates of adjoining counties deviate from those of the counties by an average of 59.5 points, or 10.8 percent of the state rate. Nineteen counties deviate 15 percent or more from the average rate of bordering counties, with ten of these counties having higher and nine lower rates. At least one-half of these counties contain unusual circumstances, such as declining oil fields or relatively faster general economic growth, which seem to account for the deviation in OAA rates from those of adjacent counties. From these data it seems safe to conclude that for the State as a whole considerably less than 10 percent of the variation in rates from county to county can be attributed to differences in county administration.

TABLE 4

CHANGES IN POPULATION 65 YEARS OLD AND OVER IN OKLAHOMA, 1900-1950

YEAR	POPULATION 65 YRS. OLD AND OLDER	PERCENTAGE INCREASE OVER PREVIOUS DECADE	PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION
1950	196,000*	35*	8.5†
1940	144,934	50	6.2
1930	96,888	50	4.0
1920	64,772	58	3.2
1910	41,045	167	2.3
1900	15,379		1.9

\* Estimated.

† Based on estimated total population of 2,300,000 for the State.

### III

Changes in the old-age assistance rates can occur as a result of increases or decreases in the following categories: (1) persons over 64 years old, (2) applications for assistance, and (3) persons assisted. An evaluation of each of these factors is appropriate.

Because the population is ageing generally, it can be expected that persons over 64 years old will continue to increase numerically and at a more rapid rate than the total population. The data in Table 4 support this point. In 1910, the population aged 65 years and over consisted of 41,000 persons, or 2.3 percent of the total population of Oklahoma. By 1940, the number had increased to 145,000, or 6.2 percent of the total. It is estimated conservatively that there will be 196,000 persons

over 64 years old in the State by 1950.<sup>9</sup> Not only will the number of persons 65 and over be larger, but also the numbers in the more advanced ages will be greater, which, as previous analysis indicated, results in accentuating assistance needs.

In addition to changes in numbers of persons over 64 years old, the number of applications for assistance during the next few years will depend upon several factors, including the employment situation, prices for farm commodities, crop conditions, and effects of the unemployment compensation and old-age insurance programs. If employment continues at a high level, many persons aged 65 and over will continue to work for wages, provided such incomes exceed by an appreciable amount what they would receive from old-age assistance. With a rise in unemployment, applications for assistance will of necessity increase. In a rural state like Oklahoma, farm prices and crop conditions serve as welfare barometers for a large segment of the population. Farm prices and crop production generally have been at an unusually high level since 1940. A sharp decline in prices for farm products, or the recurrence of drouths, floods, grasshopper plagues, and other hazards which reduce drastically the incomes of farm families probably will lead to an increase in applications for old-age benefits.

It is probable that the old-age insurance feature of social security, as it now operates, will not apply to more than a small percentage of persons in Oklahoma who will reach the age of 65 years for several years to come. Possibly not more than one-third of the labor force in this State is covered by this form of insurance, as farmers and other self-employed workers in industry, business, and the professions, domestic workers, farm laborers, government employees, and certain other workers are excluded from participation.

During the fiscal year ending in June, 1946, the Department of Public Welfare gave financial assistance to 94,006 persons. A straight-line interpolation of the estimates in Table 4 shows that the State had a population aged 65 and over of approxi-

<sup>9</sup> This estimate is calculated by assuming that persons aged 55 and over in 1930 are in the same ratio to those aged 65 and over in 1940, as persons aged 55 and over in the 1940 census will be to the number aged 65 and over in the 1950 census. This method is used by T. Lynn Smith, "The Demographic Basis of Old Age Assistance in the South," *Social Forces*, 17 (March 1939), pp. 356-361.

mately 176,000 in 1946. If this figure is reasonably correct, the old-age assistance rate for that year was 534 cases per 1,000 persons 65 years old and older, a decrease of about three percent from the 1940 rate. In other words, the favorable employment situation, high farm prices, and good crops have had scarcely any effect in reducing the size of the old-age assistance load. Other data at hand furnish confirmation of this point.

Although death is the chief reason for closing old-age assistance cases, the decreased need for assistance due to full employment, receipt of allotments and allowances, and other resources accounted for 18 percent of all cases closed in 1946 as compared with 30 percent of those terminated during each of the preceding four years. Obviously the favorable factors responsible for decreased need among OAA recipients since 1941 are now diminishing in importance. In the future, deaths probably will account for 75 to 85 percent of the cases terminated, if no new factors enter the situation.

Under provision for increases in monthly grants of assistance in Oklahoma, 89,053 persons received \$3,573,000, or an average payment of \$42, in October, 1946. Whether the federal and state governments will continue average payments of this size is conjectural. While the aggregate annual disbursements for this function seems large, the average cost per capita for the total population amounts to slightly more than \$20 per year.<sup>10</sup> This per capita cost does not seem unreasonable at present, but the long term outlook indicates a growing financial burden. If the assumption of population experts is correct that approximately 12 percent of the total population will be over 64 years old by 1970,<sup>11</sup> and if it is assumed further that the State will have at that time 2,500,000 population and the same old-age assistance rate as prevailed in 1940, the number of OAA recipients will be not far from 166,000. On the basis of the \$42 monthly rate now prevailing, the annual cost in 1970 would be approximately 83.7 millions of dollars, or \$33 per capita for the total population of the State. The amount of this expenditure will not be prohibitive,

<sup>10</sup> Funds for old-age assistance are derived from Federal grants and from a State sales tax, the State matching in amount the Federal monies advanced for this purpose.

<sup>11</sup> See National Resources Committee, *The Problems of a Changing Population* (Washington: U. S. Gov't. Printing Office, May 1938), pp. 24-25.



but it may require an upward revision of sales taxes or the tapping of other resources to meet the increased costs of old-age assistance.

## IV

Several important conclusions can be drawn from the findings of this study. First, the high incidence of old-age assistance in Oklahoma is not the result of any single factor but of several factors which can be classed as demographic, socioeconomic, and administrative in character. Second, administrative factors, and especially those which might be labeled as "political," exert little influence upon variations in old-age assistance rates by counties. Third, not only will the numbers who receive old-age assistance expand along with increases of those persons who reach 65 years of age, but the rates also

may be expected to grow disproportionately among the population who attain even higher ages. Fourth, unless the federal system of old-age and survivor's insurance is extended to cover farmers and farm laborers, this program in the future will not be as effective as it might otherwise be in reducing the numbers who may be eligible for old-age assistance.<sup>12</sup> This is true because of the relatively high proportion of persons in the total labor force of Oklahoma engaged in agriculture, the percentage being 27.1 in 1940.

<sup>12</sup> For a discussion of this problem, see Otis Durant Duncan, "Social Security for Farmers and Farm Workers," *Current Farm Economics* (Bimonthly publication of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, December, 1945), pp. 146-154.

## SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE AGED\*

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THE increasing social problems of the aged have long since ceased to be a matter primarily for academic discussion and have become an ever-present reality to the public and private welfare administrator. The fact that a larger proportion of the population falls into the upper age brackets is a major factor. Of possibly equal importance, however, are the changes in our social and economic patterns which directly affect the living conditions of the aged and our growing recognition of society's responsibilities for its older citizens.

The literature in the field is growing steadily and reflects the mounting concern for meeting the obvious, and sometimes less tangible, needs. My comments upon the situation are definitely colored by the role which public welfare agencies play, or perhaps should play, in dealing with social problems of the aged and hence deal primarily with the practical problems faced by the operating agency.

Immediately we limit the group. A certain proportion of our older citizens in no sense present a vital problem to the welfare agency. They are economically independent and able fully to control

their own lives to a ripe old age. Others may be less independent economically, but they are adequately taken care of by their children or other relatives. They do not require financial assistance and within limits can purchase, or obtain through private resources, any needed services. With the expansion of old age and survivors' insurance and other pension programs, public welfare administrators anticipate an eventual sharp increase in the proportion of aged who are financially independent, but this is still far in the future. In effect, the social problems of the aged cannot be analyzed fully apart from their economic implications.

The public welfare concern is with the older person who needs service, financial or non-financial, provided by society through either its tax-supported or voluntary welfare agencies. At the present time both the number and proportion of such persons are increasing with accompanying rising costs and sharply increased demands for many types of facilities. It would be hazardous at this time to attempt to estimate the numbers needing various types of services in the nation or in the South. Even in such an apparently objective program as aid to the aged, the ratio of recipients per 1,000 population 65 years of age and over is approximately twice as high in some Southern States as in others with comparable per capita incomes.

\* Read before the tenth annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, Knoxville, Tennessee, April 11, 1947.

This much can be said, in any socially justifiable acceptance of responsibility, the numbers needing some type of service probably include the majority of the aged. Furthermore, the size of the problem is increasing literally daily as the effect of the war period in providing employment for marginal workers and allotments for families of men in the armed forces recedes farther into the past. More and more persons are seeking aid to the aged and being found eligible, and even a slight business recession will present a financial problem in providing assistance with which it is doubtful that a majority of the states is ready to cope. At the same time the need for non-financial services and growing recognition of their availability are resulting in increased requests of public welfare agencies.

Because of the sex differences in longevity, and lesser earning ability, the aged coming to welfare departments are more likely to be women than men. For example, although women constituted 51 percent of the population of North Carolina 65 years of age and over in 1940, they accounted for 59 percent of the recipients of old-age assistance in July 1944. This sex difference, however, has had no appreciable effect to our knowledge upon basic programs for the aged.

The same survey revealed that Negroes constituted 34 percent of the old-age assistance recipients in July 1944 in comparison with 25 percent of the State's population 65 years of age and over in 1940, the difference being due of course to the proportionately greater extent of need among aged Negroes than whites. Also, the increasing number of Negro aged who will need care as a result of their increased longevity can be expected to emphasize not only the differential in assistance loads but also the particular lack of facilities for the care of the older colored person who is bedridden or requires considerable physical care.

#### FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

The first concern probably should be with the matter of financial assistance. Recent revision of the Social Security Act provides for federal matching of grants to the aged up to a maximum of \$45 per month. For December, 1946, eight Southern States reported average grants of less than \$20. Yet with the present cost of living level, a large proportion of needy aged cannot obtain a minimum health and decency level of living even on \$45 per month. Inadequate financial assistance tends

both to multiply and to accentuate the social problems of the aged.

In most of the states today the need for public assistance is calculated upon the basis of a standard budget which takes into account individual variations in requirements and resources. Ordinarily, the standard budget includes the basic essentials of everyday living. Because of limited funds it is particularly difficult to take care of individual needs, such as special diets or expensive medical care or drugs, unless public assistance funds are supplemented from other sources. Inadequate as grants may be, it is pertinent to point out that they provide a degree of security to hundreds of thousands of aged unknown before the Social Security program. Furthermore, there is no discrimination in one southern state, and we believe this is true of most states, upon the basis of either sex or race.

Public assistance grants are not pensions for the aged but rather are recognition of public responsibility for meeting financial needs of older persons. As such they are a right and the individual who meets eligibility requirements in his particular state should not be deprived of public assistance administered on an impartial and equitable basis. The concept of the right of the individual to this aid is perhaps the greatest philosophical contribution of the public assistance program. Actually greatly increased appropriations—local, state, and federal—will be necessary before the implementation of the program fully supports social welfare tenets.

#### LIVING CONDITIONS

Financial assistance to the aged tends to focus attention upon the living conditions of this group, particularly since under the Social Security Act public funds cannot be used to help support persons in public institutions. The wisdom of this limitation is now being discussed extensively among public welfare administrators with strong arguments both for and against the limitation, but it is none the less a factor of far-reaching implications.

Traditionally, the county home has been available as a last resort for old people who required public care. Many of these homes have been closed in recent years, largely because the grant program made it possible to support the aged at less expense to the county if they were cared for elsewhere and because the aged had the happy alternative of applying for public assistance. The fact

remains, however, that most states still find some local public institutions a necessity to take care of persons with no homes, or who cannot be cared for indefinitely in a general hospital, or who cannot be admitted to a state institution. The problem becomes one of consolidation and modernization of facilities, selective intake, and specialized service. The trend is in the direction of emphasis upon nursing care, such as the current development in Illinois where the county institution has been so modernized that it also admits the chronically ill who are able to pay for their care from private resources. Certainly there is no longer any excuse for the barrenness and lack of small comforts of the traditional county home: Some of our county institutions, with those in Wisconsin particularly outstanding in this respect, are placing emphasis upon cheerful surroundings, purposeful activities, and sociable relationships among the residents. Under such circumstances elderly persons, whether sick or well, uprooted from familiar surroundings, can quickly lose the fear and anxiety with which they probably approached living in the county home. Welfare agencies have continuing responsibility for helping them to adjust in their new environment and to realize that some one continues to be interested in them. Case workers with large numbers of aged in their case loads frequently comment upon the need of these elderly people for someone to listen to them and to take care of personal errands. This discussion of the continuing role of the county institution should not be construed as a defense of this type of congregate care but rather as an acknowledgment of the immediate problem of providing living arrangements for certain types of aged persons and a realization of the frequent advantages of the well-run small institution geared to the needs of special groups.

At the same time that the substandard county home is being closed or modernized, the availability of grants to the aged has encouraged the development of the private boarding home which caters to the public assistance recipient. The charge for room and board is necessarily limited by the size of the grant. In some instances other boarders are taken, perhaps at a higher rate, for which they receive the best rooms and other advantages. The basic problem frequently is to protect the aged client so that he receives care comparable to his payment and to see that he retains a small amount from his assistance check for personal needs.

Some of the private boarding homes provide excellent care; others are both uncomfortable and unsafe.

Every state faces the problem of what to do about the substandard boarding home. The more fortunate states, with New Jersey in the vanguard in this respect, have laws requiring the licensing of such homes by either the State welfare or health agency with adequate provisions for ordering substandard homes closed. Even with the measurable progress made through the licensing authority, much remains to be done to guarantee reasonable standards for all such homes. These standards include not only objective, physical measures but also the quality of care and the treatment of the aged by the personnel of the home. A well-run home for six to ten persons provides the answer for the care of many aged individuals.

There are also the nursing homes. Fortunately, some in this category which are not included in other licensing acts will probably come within the province of the broad hospital licensing laws being enacted by states to meet the requirements for federal aid for hospital construction. Such homes have one or more registered nurses and can accept persons requiring much more care than the private boarding home is equipped to provide. Unlicensed, the private boarding home or the nursing home often constitutes a grave problem. Licensed, they offer two of the most effective solutions to the problem of living arrangements for the aged. At present the demand for each type of home far exceeds the supply. This demand includes many aged in the moderate income group as well as aged dependent upon public support.

In considering types of congregate care, however, we must not lose sight of the fact that a large proportion of the aged are capable of maintaining their own homes with regular financial assistance, and certainly the public welfare approach is to encourage and facilitate continuance in familiar surroundings. For example, approximately half of the old-age assistance recipients in North Carolina maintain their own homes. Some aged require varied case work services if they are to maintain separate living arrangements whether they require financial assistance or not. In this connection we are just beginning to realize the possibilities of housekeeper services with the welfare agency providing a person who can take care of certain major household tasks and thus make it possible for the



aged person or persons to remain in their own homes. This is one of the newer services that is being recognized as our concepts of public and private welfare services and of the needs of the aged broaden. Even the semi-invalid may be able to manage a home with this type of help. In other cases the need is for visiting nursing service for the aged person in his own home. The results in individual contentment are tremendous.

#### HEALTH NEEDS

Many of the most compelling problems of the aged center around their physical condition. Those who have no marked infirmities and require only periodic general medical supervision create relatively little problem. A second group, however, are infirm as well as aged with permanent physical disabilities so that they require regular medical care and often regular physical care. These are the persons able partially to meet their own needs but for whom special provisions must be made. A third group consists of the chronically ill, a considerable proportion of whom are bedridden. In turn these are the most difficult to deal with as facilities for the chronically ill are inadequate at best with facilities at a moderate rate totally non-existent in most communities. Fortunately, the need for facilities for the chronically ill is being widely recognized and there is at least the hope that adequate facilities for care will be developed, preferably as part of an expanded general hospital program. A fourth group consists of the mental cases. Enlarged State hospitals provide only a partial answer as the demands for protective care of senile cases that do not require, or cannot be admitted to, such institutional care are steadily increasing. These senile cases also need boarding home or nursing home care with the addition of special supervision and, in some cases, protective construction of rooms. As the amount of personal attention required increases, whether due to physical or mental disabilities, the problem of obtaining adequate non-institutional care becomes increasingly more difficult.

The question of where the aged who are not acutely ill may be cared for is only part of the problem. We still have large areas which lack adequate medical facilities. The shortage of physicians in rural areas in particular is far from being met. Where there are too few doctors, home visits are reduced to a minimum and the aged in particular suffer. Moreover, even where medical atten-

tion is available, the problem of cost still looms large. Certainly we have free clinics and public funds for medical care and hospitalization, but these are often insufficient resources for long and expensive illnesses. Also, there are the large number of elderly people who can manage upon limited incomes until illness strikes and then, loathe to seek public aid, they may delay treatment until the situation becomes acute. Any public welfare program for providing medical care and hospitalization has to take into account not only the chronically indigent but also those who are medically indigent only.

#### LEISURE TIME

In addition to meeting financial and health needs and to facing the problem of adequate living arrangements for the aged, the public welfare administrator has constantly before him the continuing and realistic problem of recreation for the aged and use of their so frequently abundant leisure time. Only recently has society begun to assume responsibility for leisure-time activities for young people. The lag has been even more marked for the oldest age groups. The more progressive states include a definite amount for recreation, albeit an exceedingly small amount, in every public assistance budget. This may provide for tobacco and a rare movie but it does not solve the problem. One of the most promising developments on the horizon is the encouragement of municipal social centers in which the aged may congregate and engage in varied activities. Again, the managers of the better-run boarding homes, nursing homes, and county institutions recognize the need for constructive and social activities and make definite efforts to encourage such activities as the raising of flowers, handicrafts, and even simple chores around the home. Otherwise life in the boarding home may be just as dreary and monotonous as that in the traditional county home ever was.

#### PERSONAL APPROACH

In evaluating the social problems of the aged and in attempting to provide adequate living conditions and necessary physical care, we sometimes run the risk of forgetting that we are dealing with a highly individualized group, the members of which have patterns of behavior and of attitudes developed through a lifetime. Moreover, they have capacity for change and adjustment and with a little help,

financial or other service, can continue to live personally satisfying lives. In trying to provide for their needs, we must not exaggerate their helplessness nor must the case worker be over-protective. While we should emphasize the present inadequacies in meeting the needs of the aged as a whole, we must deal with them as individuals, seeking attention and understanding, as well as financial aid and specialized services.

As a result of concern over their many needs and the present inadequacy of resources for meeting those needs, a specialist is being added to the staff of the North Carolina Department of Public Welfare to devote full-time to the social problems of the aged. One worker cannot solve all of the problems but, working with other members of the staff, she can help to standardize facilities for care and to focus attention upon the special needs of the

aged which can, and should, be met through a public welfare program and those which should be met through other community resources. It is certainly as logical a development in this field as the child welfare worker is in meeting the special problems of dependent, neglected, and delinquent children.

The staggering size of the problem presented by the growing number of aged readily leads to attempts at classification with the resultant danger of over-simplification. We must provide for the aged in need of services as a group but if we are truly to meet their needs, the public welfare agency must make available to them as skilled, imaginative case work as it furnishes for any age group. Above all, we must work with them as individuals, individuals who have the right to varied resources and effective service.

#### MARRIAGE HYGIENE

*Marriage Hygiene*, The International Journal of Sex and Sex Problems, has resumed publication, after a ten year lapse, under its original editor, Dr. A. P. Pillay, in Bombay, India. The first issue of the new series came out in August, due to reach this country toward the end of September. The table of contents is: Frigidity, Facts and Misconceptions by Edmund Bergler; Disorders of Erection by Dr. Loewenstein; The Martyrdom of Man in Sex by Anthony Ludovici; The Huhner Test in Sterility by Max Huhner; Modern Insight on Incest by Marc Lanval; Life of Havelock Ellis by Paul Robin; Autobiography of a Heterosexual Transvestist; Necrology; Notes and Comments; Reviews. The editor for the United States is Gladys Hoagland Groves, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, with board members: Kingsley Davis, G. Lombard Kelly, M.D., Emily H. Mudd, S. Bernard Wortis, M.D. The following countries are also represented by active editors and editorial boards: Australia, Belgium, British Isles, Chile, China, Denmark, Egypt, Holland, Siam, South Africa, Sweden, and Switzerland.

#### MARY SWAIN ROUTZAHN RETIRES

Russell Sage Foundation announces the retirement of Mary Swain Routzahn, director of the Foundation's Department of Social Work Interpretation since 1935 and a leading authority in the field of health education and social work interpretation.

Her service with the Foundation began in 1912, in the Department of Surveys and Exhibits. Here Mrs. Routzahn and her husband, the late Evart G. Routzahn, pioneered in developing many of the present-day techniques in presenting information to the public, particularly in the fields of social work and public health. Mrs. Routzahn had a major part in the founding and for many years directed the work of the National Publicity Council for Health and Welfare Services, which will now carry on many of the activities for which her department was formerly responsible. In 1944 the first National Award in Health Education was made to Mrs. Routzahn and posthumously to Mr. Routzahn. She has published many books, pamphlets and articles.

Her retirement from the Foundation after more than thirty-four years of service will not mean complete abandonment of work in her chosen field. She plans to continue teaching courses in social work interpretation at the New York School of Social Work and will serve as a consultant with the National Publicity Council.

## COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress, in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### ECOLOGY, FRAMEWORK FOR CITY PLANNING\*

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CITY planners are looking to the social scientists for help. What can sociologists give city planning and what can city planning give sociology? This is the problem that concerns us here—a significant problem in view of the nature of urban society; the amount of paper, ink, and energy which sociologists have devoted thereto; and the potentialities of the city planner as a social technologist. Whereas city planning until the 1930's remained throttled for the most part by "Beaux Arts" and "City Beautiful" traditions, planning today has taken new directions and perspectives; social, economic, and political. The principles of Patrick Geddes, Ebenezer Howard, Henry Wright, and Lewis Mumford have gained recognition and refinement. The American Society of Planning Officials, the National Resources Planning Board, the National Housing Agency, a few sociologists, land economists, political scientists, and planning professors have been influential. Although architects and engineers—tagged by someone the "High Priests of Planning"—may have been more hesitant than others to reorient their work, the International Congress of Modern Architects has recognized the necessity of attaining "... a harmony indispensable to the present by putting architecture back on its real plane, the economic and sociological plane."<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the influence of such thinking has been sufficient to create "young turk" dissension in such conservative groups as the American Institute of Architects

and the American Institute of Planners. Accordingly, the sociologist finds common ground with more and more planners. He also enjoys prestige among planners—at least for the present. This prestige, one imagines, hangs on a slender thread, reflecting not so much contributions already made as the planners' hope of aid to come. How can we deliver and at the same time improve our science?

The nature of modern city planning and, correspondingly, the problems which may properly concern the sociologist, are suggested in the terms "comprehensive planning" and "progressive planning." These terms and their related concepts have received extensive and detailed treatment in recent planning publications. "Progressive planning" denotes processual, systematic, step-by-step planning over a comparatively long time and in keeping with a comprehensive long-range plan for a suitable area. It also implies continuous guidance, stimulation, and community support of the planning process through an active planning agency in the area, preferably staffed by salaried technicians. "Comprehensive planning" requires planning of suitable wholes (real communities, urban regions), the essence being social research and social engineering (broadly defined). It is designed to: (1) end sprawling urban accretions, suburban and fringe slums; (2) clear or rehabilitate inner-city slums and blighted areas; (3) make cities associations of safe, quiet neighborhoods with lasting social and economic values, properly related to commercial and industrial areas; (4) create modern street systems for adequate circulation and neighborhood protection. Correspondingly, comprehensive city planning involves six major classes of interrelated problems: (1) definition of the urban

\* Read before the tenth annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, Knoxville, Tennessee, April 12, 1947.

<sup>1</sup> Jose Sert, *Can Our Cities Survive* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1942), p. 242.



region and the locality to be planned; (2) analysis and projection of population characteristics; (3) nature of economic activities and economic potentials; (4) adequate housing and community services for all income classes; (5) functional ground plan, land use, and street systems properly relating residential, industrial, and commercial areas; (6) community participation in each phase of the planning process in the determination of goals as well as in plan implementation.<sup>2</sup> Comprehensive planning is often conceived as a team job, carried on by individuals who can work cooperatively and who are versed in economics and business, sociology, government, public health, law, architecture, and engineering. Finally, the area for city planning may be as large as the New York or Los Angeles metropolitan regions or as small as a single municipality of 2500 people. By no means is it a big city phenomenon.

The sociologist cannot fail to be impressed with the range of empirical problems he shares with the planner which, recast in theoretical frame, relate themselves to various lines of scientific research. He should note well, however, that the ultimate objectives of modern city planning involve a re-ordering and manipulating of the physical environment of cities, albeit for social purposes and on the basis of social analysis. Land and the uses of land, real property and property development, are of the essence. The four purposes listed above testify to this fundamental physical orientation. So, too, do the tools for plan execution, namely, government aided urban redevelopment, housing and public works programs; subdivision controls, zoning ordinances and building codes, as well as the map and design devices for data and plan projection. Correspondingly, city planning tends to be more "practical," "immediate," "concrete" than planning for other areas and objectives; than state, regional, national planning; educational, social welfare, economic planning; and much community planning. Thus, the sociologist will likely find the problems of city planning more particularized and urgent. Due to the involvement of property rights and tax rates at shorter range, he may also find city planning more closely linked with "poli-

tics" than other types of planning. If this has disadvantages from the sociologist's point of view it has certain advantages also. The relatively small scale activities of city planning and the related studies of the sociologist are less likely to appear "purely academic" to the layman because the objectives are more immediate, more easily visualized, and perhaps more often accomplished. The planning agency and the town hall are excellent laboratories for the sociologist.

Having sketched the situation with regard to city planning, let us turn now to the consideration of what sociology may offer and gain from comprehensive city planning. As planners themselves observe, the effectiveness of city planning will depend in large part on the social scientists' ability to devise principles of urban form and function, and to assist in drafting plans and action programs based on these principles. In this way social science would come to have a relationship to city planning closely resembling that of the biological sciences to medicine, physics to engineering, etc. To do these things, the sociologist in company with other social scientists must:

1. Develop a social science of cities which relates social and technological forces to the urban form—its physical layout, services, and related arrangement of group activities.
2. Develop a social science theory and methodology which serve to synthesize the findings of the several social sciences in their analysis of city planning problems.
3. Further develop a city planning and building technique which subordinates problems of design and construction in a process of social engineering based on the concept of urban form as a dynamic social mechanism.
4. Give professional planners and civic leaders better understanding of the social scientific problems of cities, and encourage more social scientists to study these problems and participate in planning activities.

The remainder of this paper is devoted to requirements "1" and "2"—the development of a science of cities and integration of the several lines of traditional social science research converging on the problems of city planning. It is assumed that comprehensive planning of urban physical organization requires comprehensive social scientific understanding. It is assumed further that social scientists, and sociologists in particular, participating in planning programs, are obliged to provide

<sup>2</sup> For good descriptions of comprehensive planning, see *Action for Cities* (Chicago: Public Administration Service Bulletin No. 86, 1943); Guy Greer, *Your City Tomorrow* (New York: Macmillan, 1946), in part a revision and expansion of a series of articles in *Fortune*, 1943-1944.

the appropriate knowledge, and that this can only be done through a comprehensive theory, at once "academic" and "practical."

A science of the urban form (physical organization) relating sociological, economic, technological and geographic forces is lacking. While the need for such a science has long been recognized by certain planners and urban specialists, our knowledge of the urban form remains distinctly unorganized. Moreover, the planning technician cannot be expected to integrate the scattered and chaotic materials which are turned up in most cities with little digging. We have sizeable literatures devoted to urban land economics, urban sociology, urban ecology, municipal finance, public administration, human geography, transportation and public utility economics, housing and real estate, industrial location. The problems investigated are about as numerous as the disciplines and approaches. They all offer something to our understanding of urban form, but the offerings tend to be discrete, unsystematic, and organized only within highly particularized frameworks such as finance economics, resource economics, tax base, tax rate, traffic flow, social breakdown, the zonal hypothesis. Accordingly, if science be defined as an organized body of knowledge, we lack a science of urban form.

But how may these discrete yet pertinent materials and intellectual approaches be organized? They may be organized just as any scientific body of knowledge is organized, in terms of a systematic theory and corresponding frame of reference, recognizing that for scientific purposes fact is non-existent without theory, that facts never "speak for themselves."<sup>3</sup> Without going into the philosophical and methodological background of this moderate empiricist position, we would nevertheless point, incidentally, to an excellent substantiation of the doctrine that facts never speak for themselves. This substantiation is provided by much of the urbanism literature itself, the sociological, economic, governmental surveys of so-and-so which establish statistical relations between such-and-such that produce a so-what reaction on the part of the reader rather than any new insight into

human behavior. Characteristically, they lack interpretation, comparability, theoretical significance, and often particular or local importance even at the "horse-sense" level. In urban sociology, two lines of research have risen above a descriptive, non-theoretical level and have attained scientific stature. They are population and ecology, the two subjects which in our urban sociology textbooks least resemble in subject matter and level of analysis a fifth grade social studies text. Population and ecology are also the problem areas in connection with which sociologists appear to have been most helpful to city planners. Indeed, ecology promises a basis for our science of cities.

We propose a comprehensive ecology as a frame of reference, basic concepts, and theoretical propositions for a science of cities which may organize and further the studies of all the social sciences, as well as sociology, that bear directly upon the basic problems of comprehensive city planning and building. Theories of community, population, personality, group, and institution in their relevance to urban society are likewise relevant to the physical organization of cities, the aspect of urbanism especially involved in planning and guided development. It is ecology, however, that is directly and squarely concerned with urban form and physical organization. In its task of discovering and explaining the regularities in man's adaptation to space and the territorial arrangements that social activities assume, urban ecology confronts the fundamental problems of comprehensive city planning, the problems of land and land use in a social context.

The urban ecologist should be best equipped of all social scientists to grasp, with Mumford and the comprehensive planner, the city in its complete sense, "...geographic plexus, an economic organization, an institutional process, a theater of social action, and an aesthetic symbol of collective unity."<sup>4</sup> Likewise, the ecologist along with Mumford should comprehend the social attributes of physical space for

The physical organization of the city may deflate [the social drama, the intensified group activity] or make it frustrate; or it may through the deliberate efforts of art, politics, and education, make the drama more richly significant, as a stage-set, well designed, intensifies and underlines the gestures of the actors and

<sup>3</sup> For an excellent presentation of the moderate empiricist position see Talcott Parsons, "The Present Position and Prospects of Systematic Theory in Sociology," in G. Gurvitch and W. Moore (eds.), *Twentieth Century Sociology* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1946), pp. 42-69.

<sup>4</sup> Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1937), p. 480.

the action of the play. It is not for nothing that men have dwelt so often on the beauty or the ugliness of cities: these attributes condition [and are conditioned by] men's social activities . . . [but] social facts are primary, and the physical organization of the city, its lines of communication and traffic, must be subservient to its social needs.<sup>5</sup>

Unfortunately, urban ecology has not yet realized its sociological potentials. The defects and the reasons therefore have been noted by Alihan, Llewelyn and Hawthorn, among others.<sup>6</sup> It remained for Firey, however, to formulate a more inclusive and, at the same time, a more distinctively sociological theory<sup>7</sup> which, in combination with certain propositions and concepts of land economics and the older ecology, give us the theory we propose for a science of cities basic to comprehensive planning.

The ecological theory and conceptual scheme best suited to our purposes must be more comprehensive than that offered by "the Chicago School." It should require of the researcher explicit analysis of the valuational and volitional, "non-economic" phenomena familiar to every successful real estate man and so well handled in Firey's highly significant cultural theory.<sup>8</sup> The cultural considerations, however, should augment and provide the basis for analysis of the rationalistic, "pure economic" phenomena so important in connection with the real estate markets, land use patterns, land values, and tenur conditions in our contractual society. At the same time, the valid criticisms of the theory and method of social ecology detailed by Alihan and Firey must be met in future urban research.<sup>9</sup> Hence we propose a comprehensive ecology and emphasize the adjective "comprehensive," not without hesitating, in view of the jargonistic confusion already characteristic of ecology, as

evidenced by its definitions in the *Dictionary of Sociology*! This theory and corresponding conceptual scheme may be outlined as follows.

Firey has demonstrated that ecological theory must take as its point of departure the community as a real social system having certain functional requirements for the maintenance of identity.<sup>10</sup> Which ends are most contingent upon space is a matter of cultural definition and will vary with the more inclusive value system of society. Different type societies—and different type communities—will function and maintain their identity on different terms; commercial, industrial, religious, military, etc. Such spatially relevant functions as manufacturing, retailing, transportation, residence, of paramount importance in our contractual society, contrast with worship, ceremony, priestly housing, burial of the dead in theocentric societies. In every community however, as Firey observes, there is the problem of allocating space, of achieving some "balance of sacrifices," some "proportionalization of ends." Moreover, Zipf's generalization applies: "... a social system—whether a nation, or a city—does function 'best' when it has sufficient territory at its disposal so that all its spatially contingent functions find spatial articulation."<sup>11</sup> Following Pareto's distinction between utility to a community *versus* utility to the component members of a community, it is apparent with reference to land use and ecology as well as in other contexts that these utilities need not coincide. Thus, slums represent a sacrifice of the maximum utility of the community as a system to the maximum utility of tenement owners as sub-systems, a more rigorously sociological expression than "public interest" sacrificed to "private interest." Knowing the maximum utility of the community involves knowing the relative spatial contingency of the various ends of the community. Then, writes Firey,

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 482-485.

<sup>6</sup> M. A. Alihan, *Social Ecology: A Critical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938); E. Llewelyn and A. Hawthorn, "Human Ecology," in Gurvitch and Moore (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 466-499.

<sup>7</sup> W. Firey, *Land Use in Central Boston* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1947).

<sup>8</sup> W. Firey, *ibid.* also Firey, "Sentiment and Symbolism as Ecological Variables," *American Sociological Review*, X (April, 1945) pp. 140-148, and "Ecological Considerations in Planning for Rurban Fringes," *American Sociological Review*, XI (August 1946), pp. 411-423.

<sup>9</sup> M. Alihan, *op. cit.*; W. Firey, *ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> W. Firey, *Land Use in Central Boston*, pp. 323-340; C. C. Zimmerman, *The Changing Community* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1938), utilizes the concept of community as a reality *sui generis* without, however, particular reference to ecological analysis.

<sup>11</sup> Firey, *ibid.*, p. 329 referring to G. K. Zipf, *National Unity and Disunity* (Bloomington, Ind.: The Principia Press, Inc., 1941). Significant sociological problems are opened by extending this generalization as an hypothesis to family and house, families and neighborhoods.



... it is possible to specify which are preemptive and which are residual land uses. Likewise it is possible, at least analytically, to detect the strains and disfunctions which accrue to a city through departing from a strict proportionality in its allocation of space to various land uses.<sup>12</sup>

The problem of relative spatial contingency is of course the number one problem of social science research for city planning purposes. It is also the root problem of a useful comprehensive ecology, concerning which we sociologists know no more than the zoning "experts" who continue to over-zone and under-zone by wide margins, often following what someone has appropriately tagged, "the smoke stack and payroll theories" of city growth under Chamber of Commerce auspices.

The requirements of the community as a real social system should be embodied in city plans which, accordingly, become as a rule regional or metropolitan plans. One such requirement, Firey finds, is symbolic representation. Bringing ecological theory abreast the practical knowledge of the realtor, Firey observes that space is not only an impediment to economic productivity but may be symbol as well. He writes,

This symbolic quality is referable only to a system of social values through which space may become invested with certain meaningful properties. More than this, the very impeditiveness of space itself does not reside in it as a physical phenomenon but rather in the costfulness which it imposes upon social systems that have to deal with it. . . . This constitution of social systems is itself the product of a particular value system which defines the very being and conditions of survival for those social systems. Thus both the character of space and the make-up of social systems are of cultural origin. From this it would seem to follow that the cultural component is central to locational processes. Only in terms of this component can we fully understand why land is put to the uses to which it is. In terms of it, land can be put to uneconomic and even diseconomic uses—all because certain values have become attached to a locality and have in that way found symbolic representation. In terms of it, too, land gains its impeditive character, by which particular social systems cannot function unless they find suitable locations.<sup>13</sup>

For the individual, the property owner, prospective buyer, or real estate dealer, real estate has an emotional appeal possessed by few enterprises. Abrams notes,

<sup>12</sup> Firey, *Land Use in Central Boston*, p. 330.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 324-325.

Sentimentality and the illusion of security are responsible for the high degree of marketability of farms and homes. Sellers have always capitalized upon this appeal, and though it may not always find logical justifications, it is nevertheless responsible for an ever-ready market of buyers.<sup>14</sup>

Despite the inadequacies of rationalistic theories of ecology, the fact remains that in a contractual society such as ours the ecological arrangements and physical forms of most cities are the products of the economic forces of demand and supply, though they be based on and conditioned by social value systems. Indeed land economists, especially those in the institutional tradition, recognize value factors though they seldom analyze them explicitly. In Firey's terminology, they are "methodological rationalists." Ratcliff's concept of the real estate market, Ely and Wehrwein's definition of land economics are cases in point.<sup>15</sup> The market concept, fitted to the requirements of cultural theory, becomes an important concept in a comprehensive ecological scheme. The "fitting" to which we refer requires consideration of institutional-value factors as decidedly "inner" rather than "outer world" factors conditioning the market forces of supply and demand as Ratcliff makes them.<sup>16</sup> The market concept is important generally because of the contractual nature of our economic institution, and specifically because (1) city planning and ecology require a knowledge of trends and processes best obtained from market data, and (2) because market forces can be modified comparatively little without fundamental changes in our economic institution. As Ratcliff puts it,

The area of social control to accomplish corrective planning is small in comparison with the area over which control cannot effectively be exercised. . . . The basic forces and processes of city growth [as well as all ecological processes] move inexorably forward and the efforts of man to modify them are puny and ineffective in comparison.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> C. Abrams, "Economic Changes in Real Estate," in P. Zucker (ed.), *New Architecture and City Planning* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1944), p. 276.

<sup>15</sup> R. U. Ratcliff, "Proceedings of Conference on Research in Housing," *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, 22 (Feb. 1946), pp. 98-116; R. T. Ely and G. Wehrwein, *Land Economics* (New York: Macmillan, 1940), p. vi.

<sup>16</sup> Ratcliff, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

<sup>17</sup> R. U. Ratcliff, "A Land Economist Looks at City Planning," *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, 20 (May 1944), p. 107.

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Accordingly, city planning should start with the process of forecasting the pattern which will evolve as the result of competition, supply and demand within the market as it exists. Ecological analysis is called for. The next step then is to determine what modifications of the market-as-usual pattern are desirable, and what modifications are feasible.<sup>18</sup> Ecological analysis, particularly with cultural concepts, is again called for. Abrams points to increasing government controls associated with a developing "public utility" concept as significant clues to future real estate activities. In particular he refers to the increasing controls of land uses—stringent dwelling laws, building codes, zoning ordinances—the revolutionary mortgage moratoria and rent control laws involving criminal sanctions.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps even less will remain of sub-social symbiosis and the "natural" market, cast in the classical economics mold. If this be the case, the greater the responsibility of the city planner and sociologist.

If the broad concepts and orientations proposed above are incorporated in the conceptual tool

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* with certain word changes to eliminate questionable emphases on "growth" and "nature."

<sup>19</sup> C. Abrams, *op. cit.*

kit of the ecology student, he will also find his old concepts useful tools, though they need sharpening and "de-naturalizing": competition, concentration, centralization, invasion and succession, zone and area. They are *only* acceptable as descriptive devices for if cultural and social control factors, uneconomic and diseconomic phenomena, be comprehended and interpreted with logic, the methodological assumptions and theory associated heretofore with these concepts must be discharged. Similarly with the hypotheses of city development, growth, invasion, area stability, etc. They remain fruitful hypotheses for investigation and change in the light of empirical findings. But they are *only* hypotheses.

In sum, we have sketched an opportunity and approach for the sociologist to participate in city planning, to contribute to a science of urban form, and to the improvement of city life. It seems, in Elton Mayo's language an opportunity for sociology to don the crystal slippers and walk into adventure, thus moving further away from her position as "the cinderella of sciences."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> E. Mayo, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945), p. 33.

## URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE TENNESSEE VALLEY\*

WILLIAM E. COLE

*Tennessee Valley Authority*

**A**LTHOUGH census data do not reveal the extent or the significance of the nature of all the urban population movements in the Tennessee Valley, we must necessarily make use of these data for some indication of urban trends. Critically lacking are data on the extent of urbanization from 1940 to 1945, when significant shifts in population took place within the Valley.

Figure 1 shows the trend in the growth of urban population in the Tennessee Valley states over the century 1840 to 1940, whereas Figure 2 shows the growth of population in the 125 Valley counties since 1900. The urban population in these counties is indicated in Table 1.

The percentage increase in urban population by decades since 1900 for 125 Tennessee Valley counties and for Tennessee Valley states is indicated in Figure 3. The figure indicates a higher rate or urbanization of population in the Tennessee Valley counties than in the Valley states in each decade between 1900 and 1930. The rate of increase between 1930 and 1940 indicates a smaller rate or urbanization in the Valley counties than in the Valley states. The over-all percentage urban increase between 1900 and 1940 was 309.6 for the Valley counties and 207.2 for the seven Tennessee Valley states. The impression left by the census data as to the degree of urbanization taking place in the Valley between 1930 and 1940 however is perhaps an erroneous one. This is due to the fact that much of the shift which took

\* Read before the tenth annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, Knoxville, Tennessee, April 12, 1947.

place in population between 1930 and 1940 was into fringe of suburban areas which, to the

TABLE 1

URBAN POPULATION IN 125 TENNESSEE VALLEY COUNTIES, 1900-1940

1900—186,582
1910—270,805
1920—428,659
1930—662,722
1940—764,307

sociologist, has some significances akin to those attached to urban populations. The nature of

22.3 percent in comparison with a 6.0 percent increase in the rural farm population. It is estimated that 163,900 persons left Valley farms during the decade and shifted to non-farm residents either in the Valley or outside. This amounted to 10 percent of the farm population.

Little data, except housing and ration book data, are available on the urbanization of population in the Tennessee Valley since 1940. Some indication of trends may be attained by using two examples: the city of Knoxville and the city of Oak Ridge.

In January, 1940 the Knoxville Utilities Board had 23,500 water connections in the city and the

### TENNESSEE VALLEY STATES, 1840-1940

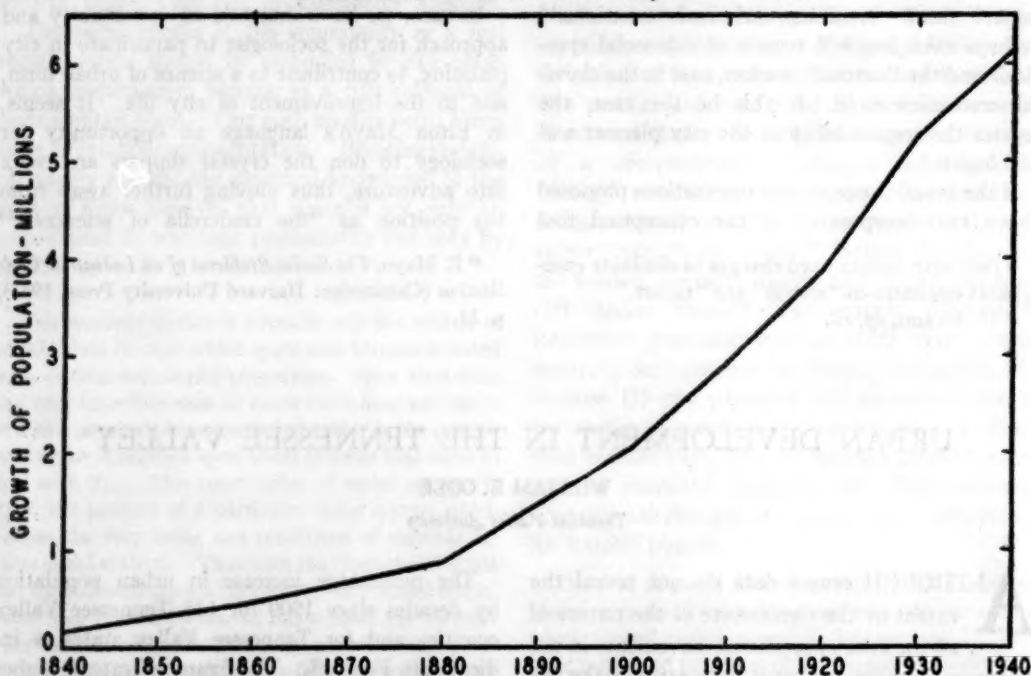


FIG. 1. GROWTH OF URBAN POPULATION IN THE TENNESSEE VALLEY STATES, 1840-1940

this growth is indicated by the data on Chattanooga and Knoxville (Table 2), two metropolitan areas in the Tennessee Valley.

The data in Table 2 indicate roughly a growth of two persons outside the central cities for each one inside in the Chattanooga and Knoxville metropolitan regions between 1930 and 1940. Whereas the urban population in the Tennessee Valley increased 15.1 percent between 1930 and 1940, the rural non-farm population increased

population that year was 111,580, or a ratio of one water connection for 4.75 persons. In March, 1947, the Board had 25,600 water connections within the city. The population per connection in March 1947 was above that of 1940 because many families had doubled up on account of the housing shortages and many single family dwellings had been converted to house two or more families. It was the Knoxville Utilities Board estimate that the ratio between water



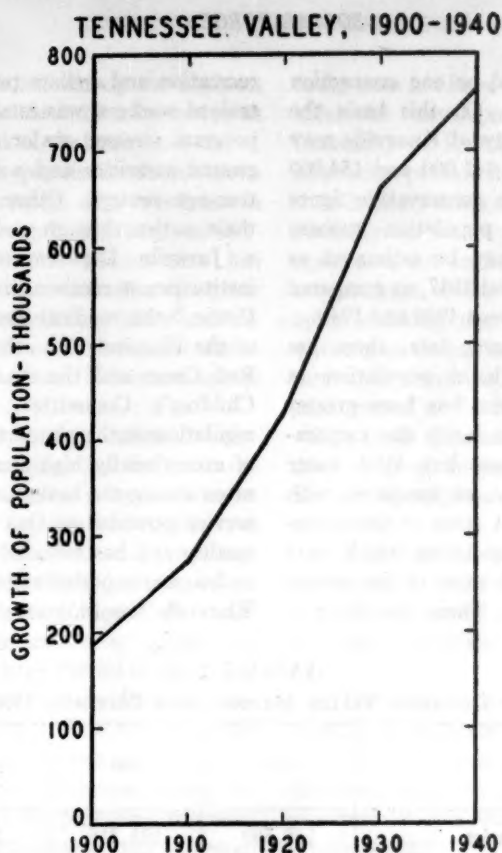


FIG. 2. GROWTH OF URBAN POPULATION IN THE TENNESSEE VALLEY, 1900-1940

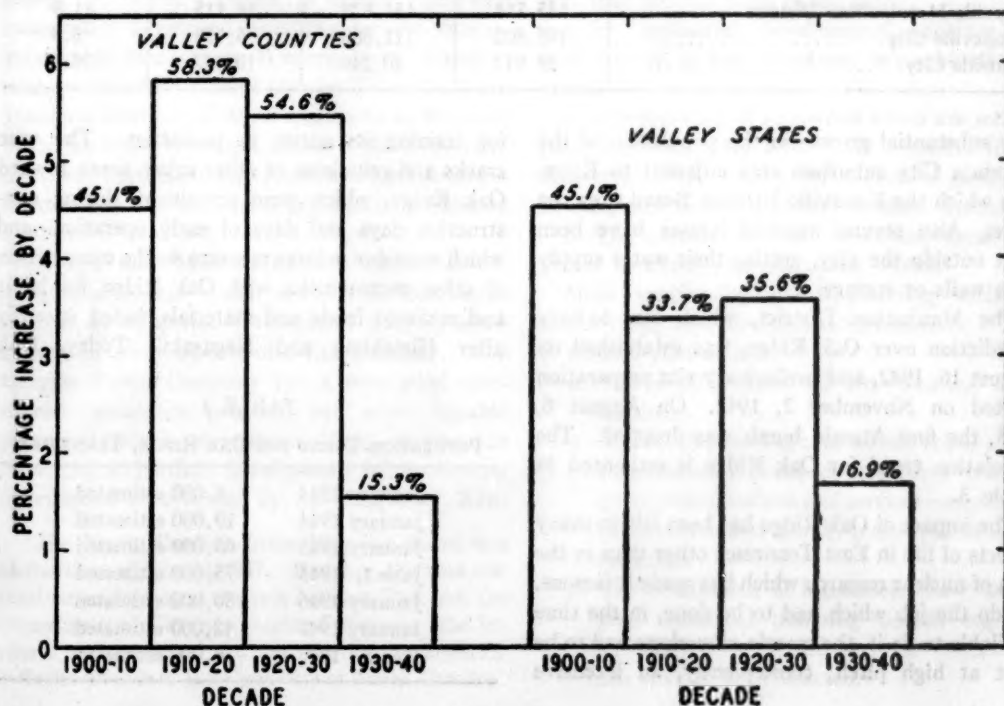


FIG. 3. PERCENTAGE OF GROWTH OF URBAN POPULATION, 1900-40, VALLEY STATES

meters and population would be one connection for each 5.5 or 6 persons. On this basis the present population of the city of Knoxville may be estimated to be between 141,000 and 154,000 population. Using the more conservative figure of 141,000, the percentage population increase of the city of Knoxville may be estimated as 26.4 percent between 1940 and 1947, as compared to a 5.5 percent increase between 1930 and 1940.

Again using Utilities Board data, there are indications that the growth of population in Knoxville metropolitan district has been greater outside the central city than inside the corporation limits. The Board now has 4100 water connections outside the city, as compared with 950 in 1940. It is true that some of these connections serve houses or population which were not served in 1940, although most of the service goes to new construction. There has been a

recreation and welfare program, directed by well trained workers, was established. The recreation program stressed major and minor sports, playground activities and social recreation including teen-age centers. Other welfare activities found their outlet through a Family Service Bureau, a Juvenile Department, a Small Children's institution, a receiving home known as "Nesper House," the medical Social Science Department of the Hospital, and other organizations like the Red Cross and the Anderson County Crippled Children's Committee. Safety education and regulations in the plants and in the area have been of exceptionally high quality. Its school system rates among the best in the South. The medical service provided at Oak Ridge has been of high quality and has included good psychiatric service so frequently neglected in the South. One of the Knoxville hospitals uses the Oak Ridge facilities

TABLE 2  
POPULATION OF TENNESSEE VALLEY METROPOLITAN DISTRICTS, 1930 AND 1940

AREA	1930	1940	INCREASE	
			Number	Percent
Chattanooga Metropolitan District.....	168,589	193,215	24,626	14.6
Chattanooga City.....	119,798	128,163	8,365	7.0
Outside City.....	48,791	65,052	16,261	33.3
Knoxville Metropolitan District.....	135,714	151,829	16,115	11.9
Knoxville City.....	105,802	111,580	5,778	5.5
Outside City.....	29,912	40,249	10,337	34.6

very substantial growth in the population of the Fountain City suburban area adjacent to Knoxville which the Knoxville Utilities Board does not serve. Also several hundred houses have been built outside the city, getting their water supply from wells or springs.

The Manhattan District, which was to have jurisdiction over Oak Ridge, was established on August 16, 1942, and preliminary site preparation started on November 2, 1942. On August 6, 1943, the first Atomic bomb was dropped. The population trend for Oak Ridge is estimated in Table 3.

The impact of Oak Ridge has been felt in many aspects of life in East Tennessee other than in the area of nuclear research which has made it famous. To do the job which had to be done, in the time available to do it, the morale of workers had to be kept at high pitch; consequently, an intensive

for training its nurses in pediatrics. The wise cracks and criticisms of other urban areas toward Oak Ridge, which were prominent during construction days and days of early operation and which were due in large measure to the competition of other communities with Oak Ridge for labor and rationed foods and materials, faded speedily after Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Today, Oak

TABLE 3  
POPULATION TREND FOR OAK RIDGE, TENNESSEE

January 1943	6,000 estimated
January 1944	19,000 estimated
January 1945	63,000 estimated
June 1, 1945	75,000 estimated
January 1946	50,000 estimated
January 1947	42,000 estimated
March 1947	38,000 estimated

Ridge is as highly respected among the business men of Knoxville (Knoxville is 25 miles away) as it is among the scientists of the nation.

The foregoing trends in population do not mean that there has been a neglect or a recedence in rural life in the Tennessee Valley Regional Development Program. Rather the reverse has been true. The test demonstration program conducted as a joint undertaking between TVA and the land-grant colleges now reaches about 35,000 farms and more than 500 communities in the Valley.

One of the most outstanding urban developments in the Tennessee Valley has been the development of planning assistance to local towns and cities. The initial impetus to provide such assistance grew out of the relocation problems involved in the building of TVA dams; however, its purpose and scope go much beyond the problems entailed in the relocation of population. For this reason, TVA enlisted the aid of the Valley state planning agencies. Today, four states—Tennessee, Alabama, North Carolina, and Virginia—have local assistance programs. Two of the states—Alabama and Tennessee—have decentralized this program by providing technical planning assistance to communities through regional offices located in various sections of each state. In North Carolina a unique three-way cooperative agreement providing for the demonstration of planning in Western North Carolina communities was entered into by TVA, the State Planning Board, and the Department of Regional Planning in the Graduate School of the University of North Carolina. The North Carolina arrangement is new, the contract being signed on January 1, 1947.<sup>1</sup>

Georgia and Mississippi have industrial development groups which work with local committees in industrial development and, to some degree, in other aspects of urban planning. The Georgia Power Company has a very good community assistance program and some capable personnel which contribute their services to industrial and urban development in the electric distribution area served by the company. Ken-

tucky does not have a State Planning Board or an industrial development group, although the University of Kentucky and the Committee for Kentucky provide basic information and assistance in many fields related to urban development. Planning assistance through the state planning agencies is not confined in any sense to the larger concentrated areas; rather, the emphases being upon assisting the smaller urban communities whose growth has been dependent upon agriculture and whose population is still, at least, in part, geared to the land.

The types of local assistance provided through these cooperative programs in the Valley, while diverse, usually revolve around certain central activities:

- a. The provision of ordinances, based on state enabling acts, creating local planning commissions.
- b. The collection of the data necessary for the formulation of plans for specific urban communities.
- c. The formulation of programs of activities, based on local needs.
- d. The development of a zoning plan and ordinances, based on a careful study of the land resources of the community and its probable future needs.
- e. The detailed development of specific projects that become parts of the plan.
- f. An industrial development program for each city or, in some instances, a combination of cities.
- g. The servicing of industries which are seeking plant locations in the area or are interested in the resources of the Valley for industrial purposes, as compared to the resources of other regions.
- h. The development of finance and fiscal programs to cover planned public works.

More specifically, urban planning activities in the Valley may be classified as follows:

#### 1. General Activities:

- a. The establishment of city-planning commissions.
- b. The development of over-all municipal plans.
- c. Preparation of plans for structures to house governmental offices and services—municipal in instances and county-municipal in other instances.
- d. The obtainment of legislation which would give municipal planning boards regional authority. In Tennessee this legislation has already been enacted.

<sup>1</sup> The North Carolina State Planning Board was abolished as of June 30, 1947. However, the work will continue under a new contract between TVA and the Department of City and Regional Planning, the Institute of Government and the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina.



- e. The issuance of publications on the industrial, economic, and social advantages of a given city.

## 2. Zoning and Land Use:

- a. The preparation of base maps, both from surveys and aerial photographs.
- b. The preparation of zoning ordinances—municipal and county—including maps and text and inclusive of procedures for dealing with variances from instructions.
- c. Property numbering plans.

## 3. Traffic and Transportation:

- a. Metropolitan road systems—present and future.
- b. Development of new streets and the rehabilitation of old ones.
- c. The revision of transit system plans.
- d. The development of traffic circulation and parking systems.
- e. The relocation of railroads and the elimination of grade crossings.
- f. Truck freight terminal developments.
- g. Airport development—municipal and regional.

## 4. Recreation:

- a. The creation of recreation boards and commissions.
- b. The development of municipal playgrounds and recreational areas.
- c. Lakeside beach, boat, park and landscape developments.
- d. The planning and construction of recreation buildings.

## 5. Education:

- a. Comprehensive programming of educational facilities.
- b. Development of plans for municipal and regional library buildings and services.
- c. Educational programs designed to bring the public into the planning process (citizen participation) both to gain support from the public and to take advantage of public advice on needed projects.

## 6. Health and Sanitation:

- a. The selection of sites for future public housing projects.
- b. Engineering surveys for water and sewer systems and for waste disposal.
- c. Sewage treatment plans.
- d. New hospital developments and the expansion of present hospital facilities; improving present hospitals through opening up ad-

ditional grounds, shifting noisy traffic away from the site, etc.

- e. Development of special clinics, such as tuberculosis clinics.

- f. Sponsorship of city-wide clean-up campaigns.

## 7. Industrial Development and the Industrial Utilization of Resources.

- a. Assistance in converting war plants into private industries.

- b. Assistance in industrial plant location.

- c. Assistance in research into the commercial and industrial potentialities of communities and the types of industries which would utilize most efficiently those potentialities.

- d. Collection of basic data on commercial and industrial potentialities and possibilities in certain areas and in certain fields of commercial and industrial work.

- e. Assistance in getting communities to appraise their own commercial and industrial potential and in setting up a person or persons to serve as a point of contact between the community and persons seeking commercial or industrial opportunities.

- f. Development of resource utilization bodies.

To make effective the inclusion of suburban areas into the planning area, the State Planning Commission of Tennessee, for example, is authorized to designate any municipal planning commission as a regional commission to plan the physical development of the suburban areas surrounding cities over a distance of five miles from the boundary lines of the city. Ten or more cities in Tennessee have such regional powers and programs.

There is a considerable trend in the Tennessee Valley toward integrated resource development on a local and county basis, as contrasted with the more limited type of physical planning. An example of local integrated resource development is provided in Washington County, Virginia, where the Washington County Development Association of 500 members was recently formed. The work of this association is currently being carried out through eight active committees: agriculture, recreation, health and welfare, roads and utilities, education, legislation, religion and publicity. This association is being assisted by the Virginia State Planning Board, the State Extension Service, other state agencies of Virginia, and TVA.

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is probably as much decentralized in the Tennessee Valley as in any section of the United States, accelerated industrial development is a factor in the centralization of population into centers below metropolitan class in the Valley.

Figure 4 shows the trend in the distribution of the labor force in the United States, the Southern States, and in 122 Valley counties from 1870 to 1940. This chart shows that industrialization is not a recent phenomena in the Tennessee

Valley industrial development in the Tennessee Valley are the same as elsewhere—raw materials and labor resources. To these have been added over a period of years increased facilities for industrial resources and an increased interest in providing an environment in Tennessee Valley communities which is conducive to servicing an industrial population. Without a doubt, power rates also constitute a "plus factor" favorable to commercial and industrial development. As an example, in

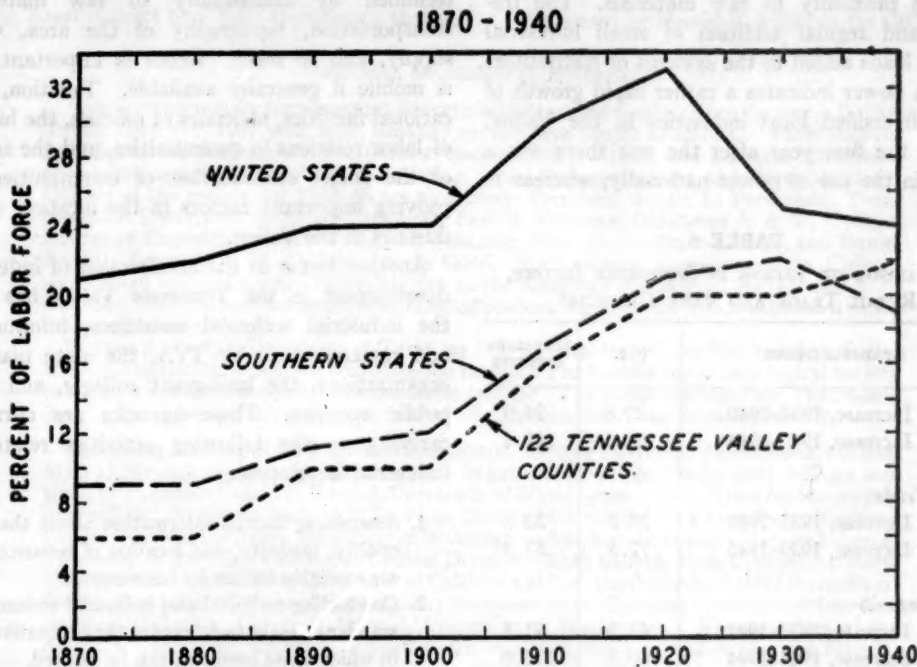


FIG. 4. PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPIED PERSONS IN MANUFACTURING AND MINING 1870-1940

Valley but that beginning about 1930 there was an acceleration of industrial development in the Valley which to date has exceeded both the na-

496 the average rate paid by commercial and small industrial users of electricity in the TVA

TABLE 4

SHIFT IN OCCUPATIONS, TENNESSEE VALLEY, 1930-1940

OCCUPATION	WORKERS
Agriculture.....	-90,919
Mining.....	4,304
Manufacturing.....	35,162
Trades & Services.....	60,542

tional and the southern rate of development. Tables 4 through 6 show other changes in employment, as well as certain economic trends, since 1930.

The basic factors favoring the acceleration of

area was 1.79 cents per kilowatt-hour, as compared with 2.79 cents per kilowatt hour paid nationally,

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN EMPLOYMENT, 1930 TO 1940\*

EMPLOYMENT (PERCENT CHANGE 1930-1940)	U. S.	125 VALLEY COUNTIES
Total.....	-0.5	0.7
Agriculture.....	-17.4	-19.7
Mining.....	5.7	13.9
Manufacturing.....	-0.5	24.6
Trades and Services.....	8.3	20.3

\*Data accumulated by Industrial Economics Division TVA and Corrected for Age and Unemployment in 1930.

the national average being 56 percent higher. Industrial consumers served by cooperatives and municipalities paid 0.64 cents per kilowatt-hour in 1946 or about two-thirds of the national average rate of 0.93 cents. Another important point is availability of power over almost any area in the Tennessee Valley, and at a rate which is practically uniform. This uniformity of rate has the effect of decentralizing industry and, to some degree, releases plant locations from immediate proximity to raw materials. The frequent and regular addition of small industrial electric loads added to the systems of distributors of TVA power indicates a rather rapid growth of small diversified local industries in the Valley. During the first year after the war there was a slump in the use of power nationally, whereas in

no single locational factor is responsible for the sole decision to locate an industry, but that industries locate where the sum total of many factors is favorable. The patterning of new industrial locations in the Valley is interesting. As a rule the smaller plants want sites in or near cities, preferably in suburban areas, whereas large industries seeking adequate space for expansion and protection seek sites as a rule away from the urban fringes—the precise location being determined by accessibility to raw materials, transportation, topography of the area, water supply, and so forth. Labor is important, but is mobile if generally available. Taxation, educational facilities, attitudes of officials, the history of labor relations in communities, and the nature of the social stratification of communities are proving important factors in the location of industries in the Valley.

Another factor in the acceleration of industrial development in the Tennessee Valley has been the industrial technical assistance, information, and research done by TVA, the state planning organizations, the land-grant colleges, and other public agencies. These agencies are currently carrying on the following activities related to industrial development:

1. Assembling factual information about the kind, quality, quantity, and location of resources that are available for use by businessmen.
2. Conducting technical and industrial economic research necessary to determine the alternative ways in which these resources can be utilized.
3. Identifying the individuals or groups of individuals who have the incentive, initiative, and capacity to apply modern technology in particular businesses related to opportunities revealed by research, and finally,
4. Working with these individuals or groups to assist them in applying modern technology to the utilization of resources with profit, and at the same time to the production of goods and services that can be of maximum benefit to the people as a whole.<sup>2</sup>

How this information is to be used is left to the judgement and discretion of the local community or the person or persons interested in developing an industry.

<sup>2</sup> W. K. McPherson, "Industrial and Business Development in the Tennessee Valley," p. 7, Knoxville, Tennessee, Commerce Department, Tennessee Valley Authority (mimeographed).

TABLE 6  
COMPARISON OF TRENDS IN SPENDABLE INCOME,  
RETAIL TRADE AND BANK DEPOSITS\*

SPENDABLE INCOME	U. S.	125 VALLEY COUNTRIES
Percent Increase, 1934-1940	20.8	24.9
Percent Increase, 1940-1944	100.1	135.4
<i>Retail Trade</i>		
Percent Increase, 1935-1939	28.2	32.3
Percent Increase, 1939-1945	77.3	87.3
<i>Bank Deposits</i>		
Percent Increase, 1935-1941	42.3	71.8
Percent Increase, 1941-1944	60.5	117.0

\* Data by Industrial Economics Division, TVA.

the Valley there was a slight increase of 3 percent in the industrial use of power. Between 1940 and end of 1946 the industrial use of TVA power increased about 250 percent whereas the average rate per KWH decreased 13 percent. Over the same period, the industrial KWH sales increased 89 percent and the average rate per KWH declined 2 percent.

Electric power resources are particularly a drawing card for small industries and electro-chemical and electro-thermal industries, whereas the abundance of predictable water supplies from a controlled river system is particularly inviting to chemical industries and certain types of textile industries. As a result of our work in the Valley we are becoming more and more convinced that



As indicated by one of the urban planners working in the Tennessee Valley:

Some progress is being made in bringing home to the smaller urban communities the concept that communities are in competition with each other, just the same as are individuals and institutions. Some communities already realize that in order to maintain their share of the available trade, they have to put on an attractive front; thus, group interest is stimulated in improving the appearance of the community. In few instances has the larger concept been fully appreciated; that is,

that through proper planning, the community plant can be built or enlarged more economically and function more effectively than if allowed to grow haphazardly. Demonstrations of savings possible through proper design of sub-divisions with less street frontage per usable lot, and lower fire insurance rates where adequate building controls are in effect, are steps in the direction of selling this larger concept which, when fully appreciated, will provide the basis for the building of much better urban communities in Tennessee and in the Tennessee Valley.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Statement by Harold V. Miller to the author.

#### REGIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETIES

THE SOUTHWESTERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY held its second meeting since the war in Dallas, Texas, April 4-5, 1947 with approximately seventy-five people attending. Panel sections included in the program were as follows: Social Theory, Ethnic and Cultural Minorities, Social Demography, Committee on Teaching, Social Disorganizations, and Rural Sociology. Officers of the society for 1947-48 are as follows: President, Austin L. Porterfield, Texas Christian University; Secretary-Treasurer, Paul B. Foreman, Oklahoma A. & M. College; Executive Committee members; Sigurd Johansen, New Mexico State College, and Daniel Russell, Texas A. & M. College. Alvin Good, Northwestern Louisiana State College, was elected regional society representative to the American Sociological Society and J. L. Charlton, University of Arkansas, was reelected cooperating editor for *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*.

Warner E. Gettys, University of Texas, as retiring president of the Southwestern Social Science Association, a regional confederation in which The Southwestern Sociological Society participates, presented a joint session address entitled "The Social Sciences Face The Atomic Age." His paper appears in the June issue of *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*.

The Spring Meeting of the PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY was held in Agate Beach, Oregon, May 15 through 17, with seventy members in attendance. The Presidential Address was given by Professor Calvin F. Schmid, University of Washington. The officers for the coming year will be: President: Richard T. La Pierre, Stanford University; Vice Presidents: Northern Division—Robert O'Brien, University of Washington; Southern Division—Harvey J. Locke, University of Southern California; Central Division—Ruth Gillard, Mills College; Secretary-Treasurer: Leonard Bloom, University of California at Los Angeles; Editor of the Proceedings: Carl E. Dent, State College of Washington; Representative to Executive Committee of American Sociological Society: Calvin F. Schmid, University of Washington. New members of the Advisory Council are Emory S. Bogardus, University of Southern California, and Elon H. Moore, University of Oregon.

MIDWESTERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting on April 25-27, 1947, at Des Moines, Iowa. President T. Earl Sullenger, of the Municipal University of Omaha, was in charge. He and Professor J. W. Albright, University of Illinois, as program chairman, had prepared an excellent program for the meetings which were well attended. The major themes of the meetings were: content and techniques of introductory courses; research on the Midwest; current trends in some major fields in sociology; and sociology and general education.

The officers of the Society for 1947-48 are: President, Lloyd V. Ballard, Beloit College; 1st Vice-President, H. W. Saunders, State University of Iowa; Secretary-Treasurer, Donald O. Cowgill, University of Wichita.

The MIDWEST STUDENT SOCIETY was reorganized by Miss Marguerite Reuss, Marquette University. They had a separate program on Saturday, but joined with the general society for the remaining sessions. The student society becomes a permanent part of the general organization.

The ninth annual meeting of the OHIO VALLEY SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, on April 26, 1947, regained much of its prewar character. The total recorded registration of 63 came from six states: Michigan, Indiana, Kentucky, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. Several of the prewar traditions were continued, while some innovations, such as having two concurrent sections, were introduced. The executive committee will probably consult with the society members concerning the wisdom of continuing these experimental practices, but superficial observation and inquiry would seem to indicate that the society is large enough, and interests diversified enough, to warrant such specialization. Officers elected for the coming year are: President, Perry P. Denune, Ohio State University; Vice President, Harry Best, University of Kentucky; Secretary-Treasurer, William F. Cottrell, Miami University; Editor, John F. Cuber, Ohio State University.

## RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN NEGRO AND WHITE EMPLOYEES IN A WEST COAST AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY 1942-1944<sup>1</sup>

BERNICE ANITA REED

*Durham, North Carolina*

**N**EGROES were admitted into the National Aviation Plant in significant numbers for the first time in 1942. They constituted an additional factor in the vast network of human relationships which involved 24,000 employees during the peak of plant employment. Although the proportion of Negro employees grew steadily larger, at no time during the period studied did it exceed eight percent of the total plant personnel.

In accordance with general industrial resistance to Negro labor penetration in the United States, plant management objected strenuously to the employment of Negro labor. Increased production demands of World War II, a severe labor shortage and Executive Order 8802 forced the plant to employ Negro labor, for the first time, during the summer of 1942. In the beginning mild objections to working with Negro laborers were advanced by 47.83 percent of the white labor force. Objections to working with Negroes were cited as reason for termination by 3.00 to 6.32 percent of the daily terminees during the initial period of Negro employment.<sup>2</sup> By the

end of the first two years verbalized objections had become weak and infrequent.

Relationships among Negro and white employees are determined by their racial traditions and experiences as cultural products of life in the United States. Traditionally whites resent Negroes as fellow workmen, job competitors and as American citizens. Between 50 to 60 percent of the white personnel had been reared in states which fostered intense racial antipathies toward Negroes. The remainder were reared in states where such antipathies were less firmly entrenched. Negroes, in turn, are aware of these antipathies and react toward them. Both Negro and white employees met in the plant with a background of racial traditions and experiences conducive to conflict.

In comparison with the numerous potential conflict situations, the actual number of overt conflicts between the two racial groups was small. Never as great as management expected, from the beginning, both overt and covert conflict decreased steadily.

Accommodation, on the other hand, was the harmonizing process which eventually characterized relationships between the two racial groups. Management had accepted race riots, large scale walkouts, and general hampering of production as a natural consequence of the employment of Negroes. When the war emergency forced the plant to relax its policy of excluding Negro labor, plant management immediately directed its attention to the establishment of harmonious relationships between white and Negro employees.

Several white employees suggested that the

<sup>1</sup> This study was conducted from 1942-1944. It included 225 formal interviews with whites, Negroes, American Indians, and employees of Mexican, Chinese and Philippine extraction. Eight hundred personnel records were examined for previous work and educational background of employees. The author compiled a great deal of the data as a participant observer. Plant records were available for statistical data.

<sup>2</sup> According to supervision, this reason was cited frequently by the employee when the termination was caused by another factor.

education department introduce lectures designed to enlighten white employees concerning the fallacious basis of their racial biases and antipathies. They suggested including such lectures in the series of plant orientation lectures presented to all incoming employees. Officials felt that such a program would not be in accord with racial traditions in the United States, that it would prove futile, and that the plant was a commercial enterprise interested in production, not in social reform. The most liberal administrative official expressed the attitude of plant management in the following statement:

I realize that we are probably all off on the race question in this country. And I think a man ought to be able to do the work he is qualified to do, regardless of race. But you can't expect the plant to adopt a missionary attitude concerning its colored employees. We can't buck the whole system. I am willing to do what I can, but I am not going to stick my neck out. We can't attempt to educate our employees so far as race is concerned. This is a plant and we are forced to produce. We can't produce if our employees are going to hold up production while they fight out the race question. So they just have to get along. We pride ourselves on the fact that we think we have handled the situation better than a lot of other plants. In spite of the fact that we held out longer against Negro labor we have been a lot better to them than a lot of other plants. We feel that we have a minimum of conflicts and grievances of a racial nature.

In place of orientation lectures on race relationships three policies were adopted by plant management. They were designed to achieve harmony in the plant only when overt conflict threatened or occurred.

1. An appeal was made to the patriotism of employees. They were told that Negro soldiers were fighting to win the war the same as white soldiers, and that therefore it was not fair to shut Negroes out of the defense jobs. In addition, it was explained that the plant needed Negro labor in order to win the war because there were not enough white laborers; hence Negro civilians should be allowed to "do their bit." This appeal was usually concluded with a statement to this effect.

"It isn't our fault that we have to hire them. The government says we have to hire them, so there is nothing we can do. It's just up to you to do your share by going ahead and working with them and not causing any trouble to slow up production."

2. A humanitarian appeal was made. Employees were told,

"The colored, they have to have jobs the same as the whites. They have to have money to buy food and clothing just as we do."

3. If the first two appeals failed employees were reminded that according to Executive Order 8802 Negroes must be employed without discrimination and that the plant was left no alternative but to terminate employees who refused to work with them or who insisted upon creating conflict and hampering production because Negroes were employed.

Fear of termination caused a great many individuals who might otherwise have refused to work with Negro employees to achieve some form of accommodation. Only 7 of the 50 foremen interviewed failed to mention an occurrence similar to the one described by an instructor from Kansas. He stated,

One (white employee) threatened to quit rather than work with Negro girls. He had been in over a year but I told him he could terminate. Then he said no he guessed he would stay, but I told him if he stayed he would have to work with any other employees regardless of race. I made him tell me whether he would agree to work with colored help because if he still objected he might as well quit. He said he would; a few days later after working with the colored girl with whom he had refused to work, he came to me and said that he would be willing to work with all of them, if they were like this girl.

By resorting to these controls, plant officials stimulated accommodation among employees which ultimately developed into a more unrestrained acceptance of Negroes by non-supervisory employees than officials themselves effected.

Accommodation by the Negro employee began with his enforced acceptance of a subordinate role, independent of his qualifications. Occupation and wage distribution of Negro personnel represented the most outstanding example of this type of accommodation. Negro employment was typified by concentration within four occupations. These occupations were assigned the lowest wage range of all job classifications (Table 1).

Frequently the white employee aided in the accommodation of Negro employees with superior backgrounds, when such Negroes were assigned as helpers to white employees with inferior qualifications. Often the white sensed the Negro employee's difficulty in adjusting to the situation and avoided giving him direct orders or instructions. He attempted in innumerable



ways to ease the situation by making the Negro employee less aware of his subordinate position. When this occurred, accommodation was eventually achieved and tended to permit development of genuine affection and friendship between the two employees.

In the beginning white employees seemed to feel that Negro employees should make a conscious attempt to "get along" with white employees. They felt that Negroes were aware of the racial attitudes of whites in the United States; that they knew they were not wanted in the plant; and that therefore it was up to the Negro to "get along" with white employees. As they worked with Negro employees and came to know them, this attitude was gradually abandoned. Negro employees tacitly accepted the burden of proof. The majority resorted to specific accommodative practices designed to achieve har-

4. Negro employees made allowances for unfavorable attitudes on the grounds that white employees had been taught to feel as they did and therefore knew no better.

5. A number of Negro employees isolated themselves from white employees and in so doing decreased the number of contacts which required accommodation.

6. In many instances Negro employees indicated that they made friendly advances to white employees or met them more than half way.

Negro employees made statements of this nature concerning these practices.

"The people in my department were nice to me from the start, but I have found that if the colored just put themselves out to be friendly they will be friendly, if you just go along and don't go out of the way to be friendly they will let you alone and not be friendly."

"Negroes—many of them have the feeling that it is up to them to make friends and disprove prejudices."

TABLE 1  
CONCENTRATION OF NEGRO PERSONNEL WITHIN FOUR CLASSIFICATIONS

JOB CODE	TITLE	HOURLY WAGE	MAY 1, 1943		DECEMBER 2, 1943	
			Number	Percent of Total Negro Emps.	Number	Percent of Total Negro Emps.
4025	Assem. Gen.	.80-.90	478	31.18	503	27.73
4523	Janitor A	.75	307	20.03	159	8.76
4293	Helper General	.75	163	10.63	102	5.62
2865	Riveter C.	.75-.80	73	4.76	68	3.75
Total.....			1021	66.60	832	45.86

monious working relationships with white employees. According to this group of employees, they resorted to the following practices in their attempt to work in the plant without conflict:

1. Negro employees indicated that they attempted to react to white employees as they felt they could "tell" the white employees desired them to react. For example, they stated,

"If they don't want to talk to you, you can 'tell.' When we find them like that we don't bother them. We just let them alone."

2. Each Negro employee interviewed felt that his success depended upon the fact that he accepted more than his share of the work assignment.

3. Negro employees stated that they must exhibit a superior work performance to receive the same promotion or classification as a white employee with an average performance record. They indicated that they expected this attitude and just accepted it.

#### TOLERATION

Toleration constituted the mildest form of accommodation observed. There were white employees who appeared only to tolerate the situation. There were instances in which the individual appeared to guard his activities carefully so that no more positive form of accommodation might occur. With others toleration constituted only the initial accommodation. Other forms of accommodation supplanted toleration as continuous contacts created harmony and friendliness between the white and the Negro employee.

The reactions of a white female employee from Missouri were typical of those who merely tolerated Negro employees in the plant. She made the following statements:

I don't mind working in a group with them [Negroes] or in a class, but I don't like to work as partners with

them or close to them. I wonder why they don't work in a plant to themselves. I imagine they would be happier. It seems to me that they would hate white people knowing how we treat them and act to them.

I wouldn't like to have them as instructors or leadmen. I don't have no trouble with X. He is colored and is our leadman. I get along fine with him and don't have no trouble a tall.

I have never lived around colored folks. I have never played with them as a child. About five years ago we visited down South and they had everything separate; I thought that was good.

My contacts in the training school haven't changed my attitude at all. I still don't like to be near them; my mother is the same way. They tend to their business and I tend to mine.

I can't say that the way I feel is right. I suppose it isn't, but I have been taught that way and that is the way I feel.

I feel the same way about Mexicans that I do about Negroes.

I don't know about Chinese. I have never had any particular feeling about them. I don't know that I would like to have them as friends. I don't have any particular reaction to Filipino people.

The colored, they act businesslike. They never say anything except about the work to me. Some of the white girls talk to them but I don't. I don't like for them to tell me what to do when they don't know any more about it than I do. Some of the colored will do that and some of the white will, too, but I resent it more from the colored than from the white. Like I said, I don't mind it from the colored if they are real well educated and know a lot more than I do, but I've never seen none like that.

This individual was one employee of whom both white and Negro employees said, "You can tell she doesn't want to work with colored." There was never a quarrel or bitter exchange of words between her and any Negro employee. She was courteous to Negro employees when it became necessary for her to exchange materials with them. She worked scarcely two feet from the Negro girl next to her. Yet never during the months that she was in the training school was she observed to speak to a Negro employee except when forced to do so. That occurred only when necessitated by the job.

Negro employees accommodated to her by refraining from any conversation with her. She was able to "get along" with the Negro leadman because he accommodated to her by watching her and anticipating many of her wishes. Overt conflict did not occur because of the keen accommodative response of the Negro employees.

When Negro employees failed to accommodate, the conflict rose to the surface; quarrels and sometimes termination followed. On other occasions the quarrel cleared the air for the moment and the accommodation was resumed often with no more difficulty. When this occurred, there was evidence of greater accommodation by the white employee than had existed before the conflict.

Few departments were without at least one individual who merely tolerated Negro employees. While there were those who made no attempt to adopt a more positive form of accommodation, others indicated that they had attempted to overcome their negative attitude but concluded by saying, "It don't make me no difference how hard I try, I just can't get used to working with niggers. I'll be so glad when this war is over and we don't have to do it no more."

Accommodation which assumed the form of toleration caused both racial groups more discomfort and tension than any other. Because of the strain and discomfort involved in this type of association a large number of white employees, whose early plant relationships with Negroes were of this nature, gradually developed a more positive form of accommodation.

#### MODIFICATION OF ATTITUDES

Accommodation between Negro and white employees developed from a negative to a positive relationship. It developed from objections to working with Negroes, strong antipathies, and sometimes from "just a feeling of strangeness" about working with Negro employees into genuine friendships in many cases. It developed over a period of time and subsequent to a series of contacts in the plant.

Now and then a white employee was able to trace the merging of his attitude of mere toleration into one of conciliation. One white employee found herself relaxing her attitude of mere toleration because, as she expressed it, "she just couldn't help admiring how good the colored in her department worked..." Another developed a more positive accommodation because there were two colored girls in her department who "had such nice soft voices and always looked so nice and clean." One white male employee developed a more positive form of accommodation because he noticed that the colored didn't act impatient of

his slow work performance like the white employees.

Usually, however, the process of changing from toleration to conciliation was so subtle that the individual was unable to follow it. One female employee, for example, had only tolerated the association with Negroes in her department. After several more intimate working contacts with a Negro employee in her department, she made the following statement to her supervisor in a tone of utter astonishment, "Alice, I said good night to Mary tonight when she left. I actually told a colored girl good night." A brief conversation revealed that her attitudes were changing, subtly, slowly, and without awareness on her part. This was simply the first overt manifestation of a more friendly feeling toward Negro employees.

There were a large number of white employees whose attitudes toward Negroes were in the process of changing from intense antagonism to friendliness. It appeared that additional contacts might either advance their attitude toward a more friendly one or cause them to return to their former negative attitude. Several made comments such as the one listed below which indicated a nebulous but at least a definite development of a more favorable attitude. To put it more cautiously, such comments indicated development of an attitude conducive of a more favorable adjustment in the future.

I don't know that my attitude has changed but I feel more ashamed sometimes to feel like I do.

I remember when I worked in the nursery I didn't like to touch the little Negro or Mexican children. I just couldn't make myself help the little colored or Mexican children to the toilet or to comb their hair. I don't think I would feel so bad about doing it now as I did then.

I don't wish them any bad. I remember when some of the darker people were killed at Pearl Harbor, I cried; I felt so sorry for them. (Her eyes clouded with tears.) I can't even talk about it now without crying.

I don't mean to act mean or anything but it is just the way I was brought up. My husband is older than I am. I think it would be harder for him to change than for me.

I wish you could come back and talk to me again sometimes. There's lot of things I would like to ask you.

I think maybe I wouldn't be so bad if I knew more about colored people and yet I can't say as I still would want to associate with them. I guess I am too old to

change, too. But I don't think any of them would ever guess it because I don't move away from them or anything like that when they come near me. I wouldn't sit down near one on the street car or here at work. I would stand first, but if one sat down beside me, I wouldn't move and embarrass him.

The individual who made this statement was a native of Missouri. Her attempt to describe her own racial attitudes and how they developed was an eloquent testimony of the modifiability of racial attitudes. Her attitudes had not changed definitely from negative to positive, but they were in a state of fluctuation which pointed toward ultimate development of a more favorable adjustment toward members of darker races. Contacts in the plant were affecting her attitude. Some gave it impetus toward less bias; others turned her reaction back toward her former more unfavorable attitude.

Other employees passed through this period of fluctuation more easily. Some wavered longer than others; some experienced change in only a few of their attitudes. No instance was observed in which a complete reversal of all racial attitudes was experienced, as a result of plant contacts. Yet complete reversals of single aspects were frequent.

An employee from Texas who has changed certain of her racial conceptions but not others, attempted to describe her attitude as it was influenced by the impact of plant experiences. It was clear that plant contacts had modified her racial attitudes, although she still felt that the Negro should stay in his place. Because of favorable associations in the plant she was willing to grant the Negro a slightly better place than prior to her plant employment. Her description of her own attitude is included to present the character of the process involved.

#### PARTIAL INTERVIEW WITH FEMALE WHITE EMPLOYEE FROM TEXAS

*Changed Attitudes.* The colored, they don't bother me. We get along fine. We get along without any trouble. I work with three Negroes and one Mexican and they are swell. When I first came here I thought I might not like working with colored but I decided not to say anything. I gave it a trial and it has been all right. They don't stand around and tell dirty jokes like some of the whites. Now I have been working with colored and Mexicans fine and sometimes I just wonder, well, what next.

I enjoy working with colored. At first I thought I

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just couldn't do it, but I wouldn't want to work with nicer people. If every white man could be as nice and polite as that colored man who works with me he'd have something to be proud of. He is just as courteous as can be, and that is a lot more than I can say for most of the whites. I got to be prejudiced from living in Texas where they think the Negro should come last.

*Negroes in the Plant.* They conduct themselves like they should. They are congenial and polite and tend to their business. I don't see how anybody could object to working with them for the way they act. They are a lot more courteous than a lot of the whites.

I always thought colored people were not clean and smelled bad and weren't as good as white people, but these I have worked with at the plant are just as good as anybody to my way of thinking. There are good and bad in all races.

There are always some whites who don't want to work with the colored on job assignments, but I don't object to them if they work in the department. But the colored have always been so polite that I don't object to working with them. I wouldn't want to work with a better person than the Negro man on my job. He is always polite and has never said a thing he shouldn't. None of the colored on my job have tried to act smart or anything. They are nicer than a lot of white people. They stay in their place. I mean they don't try to play or cut up or anything. Some have said they wouldn't work with them like I do, but I do. I figure they are doing their part same as I.

Some try to say all colored men want to go out with you but I have found it isn't so. This one who works with me is just as courteous and businesslike, a lot more so than some of the foremen even who play back and forth and throw things at each other and pat the girls and tell dirty jokes.

Some whites are afraid of colored people, but they just have never been around them or just believe what people tell them. When you get to know people you find that a lot of things you hear about them aren't true. Some of them call me a nigger lover because I get along with them in my section, but I don't care; they treat me nice and they are swell and I can't say they aren't. I ain't a gonna lie on 'em.

Comments of Negro employees revealed something of how accommodation frequently developed from conflict to toleration to conciliation. A female employee was the first Negro employed in her department. White employees threatened to terminate if she were retained in the office as a clerical worker. She made the following statements:

Things are so much better now than they were when I first came here. The first night that I was here most of the girls looked at me every time I had to go

to the typist's desk. Only one or two looked pleasant or as if they might smile or speak. The first night none of the girls spoke.

During the second night that I was there I was at the canteen just outside the office when two of the girls behind were talking. One of the girls made the remark that if they hired any more of these damn niggers she was going to quit. I said nothing to them but reported the incident to the foreman and asked if my employment were an experiment and if I would be dismissed. The foreman assured me that my position was just as secure and as important as any of the other girls, and expressed regret concerning the incident.

About the fourth or fifth day I noticed that they now spoke and said good night if I encountered them but there are still only four of the eighteen girls in the office who speak or talk at any time during working hours. Two of these four are teachers working during their vacation and two are from the South, one from Oklahoma.

The foreman insisted that the white employees accept the Negro girl as an employee and that they should make no difference in their treatment of her. After the girl had worked in the office two months, only a few of the girls maintained their former attitude. Several expressed entirely different attitudes toward the Negro girl and explained that they had been taught a great deal about Negroes which did not seem to be true according to their experiences with the Negro girl in their office.

White employees explained the change from an unfavorable to a more favorable attitude on several grounds. Items mentioned most frequently as causal factors are listed below in the words of the employee.

1. A great many attitudes have developed more favorable because of the good impression created by Negroes in higher positions in the plant.

2. One from the South refused to work with Negroes at first; now he has asked for a Negro girl to be retained in his group because she is so good; he is from Virginia.

3. Where contacts have been favorable they have been effective in changing attitudes.

5. Two years ago, I understand there was a lot of very strong objections, but after they worked with Negroes and found they were no different from other people they have begun to change their attitudes and feel less antagonistic.

5. I have asked them in most instances where they object, to work with the Negro employee until I find someone else to work with them. They usually agree, and then after they have worked with them a while

they say well since I have worked with him this long, I might as well stay with him. In most instances they have been misinformed about Negroes and then when they work with them for a while they see that they are no different from anyone else and they don't object to working with them at all.

6. When I first came here I thought I might not like working with colored but I decided not to say anything. I gave it a trial and it has been all right. They don't stand around and tell dirty jokes like some of the whites. Now I have worked with colored and Mexicans fine. Sometimes I just wonder, well, what next.

7. Never worked with Negroes before. I have changed my opinion since working in the plant with Negroes; formerly I looked down on them. Here I have had more contacts and have come to understand them more. Contacts have brought the two groups together.

8. When I first came into the plant I didn't think it would work. Now I feel it has worked remarkably. One Negro girl is my favorite in the department. She is tops. At first she was very sensitive and was sarcastic to cover it up. I finally got to know her and we get along swell.

9. At first I didn't want to work with Negroes but I don't mind at all now. They have to live the same as we do. I don't suppose I'll ever get entirely away from the feeling the South has because it is just the way I was raised, but I know there isn't any good reason for feeling like that. I think the two groups should talk together more and learn more about each other. We had one colored fellow who went to college; he was a very nice fellow and very intelligent. He was as good as any of the whites.

10. Back in the hills, I don't suppose you ever saw anything like it. They are prejudiced and backward and they do the same things over and over, every generation just like their ancestors did and they never seem to get anywhere. It used to make me disgusted to see how the young ones who stayed back there never seemed to progress. Now the war has taken them out and they have met Negroes and they have seen people who didn't feel like they do and they are going to feel different when they do go back.

11. My feelings toward colored have become more favorable because I have learned some things about them for myself. Some things I have heard others say I have found to be untrue. I have found that a great many people have unfavorable impressions because they believe what they are told by others who don't know.

#### CONCILIATION

Conciliation was more nearly typical of the relationships between white and Negro employees than any other form of accommodation. Increased con-

tacts between the two groups permitted white employees to recognize the fallacious basis of many of their racial beliefs. They came to know Negro employees as human beings and as individuals rather than racial stereotypes. As this occurred Negro and white employees became friends. Relationships between the two groups became harmonious and increasingly amicable. White employees commonly chose Negro partners. Absence of a Negro member from his work group frequently caused as much concern and speculation regarding his welfare as that of white employees. If he were absent several days, it was not at all uncommon for white employees to phone his residence concerning his well being. In certain departments a Negro employee was the most popular member of the group.

Sections containing both racial groups saw friendships cut across racial lines. Within a single department there were several intimate friendships between Negro and white employees. Although the majority of these friendships were confined almost entirely to plant contacts it was significant that they were of an intimate nature. Negro and white employees who had become friends exchanged confidences concerning their private lives. Each acquired a vicarious acquaintance with the relatives and friends of the other's personal world outside the plant. Each brought pictures of his family and friends for the other to view. Occasionally they exchanged pictures. They ate together, spent their rest periods together, gossiped and worked together. Slowly and painfully, as if they were committing an offense against society, white employees began to question and later to discard a few of their fallacious racial beliefs. It was clear that they had begun to examine and question their racial prejudices as a result of plant contacts. Questions and comments of many of these individuals revealed the impact of these new experiences on their former attitudes.

"Why is it we never knew about educated colored people?" they asked.

"Until I came to the plant I thought all colored were janitors and servants."

"Would you bring me some colored newspapers? I never knew there was such a thing." This and similar requests were made by a large number of white employees. A great many asked for pictures of professional Negroes and literature describing achievements of Negroes.

"Why a lot of these colored don't seem no different

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from white, except their color maybe." Many expressed astonishment at similarities between Negroes and whites.

As the degree of accommodation increased one of the most frequent reactions of white employees was one of surprise that Negroes were so much like other people. They appeared pleased that working in the plant with Negro employees had revealed this fact. Those exhibiting the most radical change of attitude expressed indignation that they had been so misinformed concerning Negroes.

Comments from employees constituted the most satisfactory gauge of the attitudes involved in relationships where conciliation was effected. This type of relationship was prevalent throughout the plant. It was totally lacking in a few departments, existed to a small extent in others, and typified the relationships in still other departments.

Negro employees made statements of this nature:

"The whites asked me to eat with them and gave a birthday party for me on my birthday. In 21 they are just as nice. I work with two white girls and they are very friendly. They don't seem to make any difference."

"Everyone is as nice to me as can be. The men are nice about doing the heavy work. I have the dandiest foreman under the sun. He is just simply grand. Why you don't even know you are colored."

"Usually they are friendly if you talk to them. Some of them aren't at first, but the longer you work with them the friendlier they are."

"We have a white girl and a colored girl in the department who are simply pals. They even ride together to come to work."

Caucasian employees made statements of this nature:

"Other Negroes in the department seem the same as those I work with. They don't bother nobody and they are friendly. I get along with them all right. Sometimes better with them than the whites."

"I have found it extremely successful working the colored and the whites in the plant. Before Negroes came into the department there were some who objected and some who said they would not work with them but they stayed and have worked with them with no trouble or conflicts whatsoever."

Such comments indicated that in spite of the antipathetic racial backgrounds of these two groups in the United States there was a genuine feeling of friendliness and easy accommodation in many of their plant associations. Frequently friendships between Negro and white employees eventually

extended beyond the plant. As the friendships became more intimate the white employee speculated as to how friendly he might become with a Negro employee without admitting him to "social equality." Fear that their plant friendships might be termed socializing caused a large number of white participants to retard the development of their conciliation. A white female employee, for example, expressed perplexity concerning her friendship with a Negro male employee: "I wish you would tell me what you think. This has been bothering me. If I go to X's house to visit his wife and babies will that be socializing? I wouldn't call that socializing, would you, just to go by to see his babies?" She declared herself his friend in the plant and did not hesitate to lunch and converse with him, but was genuinely perturbed lest in visiting him she might be socializing.

As contact, exchange of gossip, personal information and favors continued, eventually many overcame objections to socializing in the plant but felt that a Negro should not be invited into their homes. Later they extended the boundary set for their friendship by previous racial prejudices a little further outward and left only associations outside the plant beyond the pale. Additional associations eventually extended the boundary farther to include lunch and theater trips together, then visits to the home of the Negro, then acceptance of the Negro inside the white home. One white male explained after his friendship with a Negro male employee had continued for longer than a year, "I am going to invite 'H' to my house for dinner. My mother is extremely prejudiced but she won't say anything."

The majority of the interracial friendships, however, included only plant associations. A great many admitted hesitancy concerning associations outside the plant because they feared the disapproval of society rather than because of any personal objections. These friendships occurred because of proximity, mutual tastes, and attraction of personalities. Against these factors that of race was an undertow. It was significant that this undertow of racial prejudices and antipathies could be forced into the background to permit genuine friendships among Negro and Caucasian employees.

#### SUMMARY

The nature of accommodative relationships among white and Negro employees may be sum-



marized in this manner. Plant management encouraged a mild form of accommodation by a humanitarian and a patriotic appeal to white employees. Although initial employment of Negroes caused a number of white employees to terminate, such terminations decreased rapidly and steadily. Relationships among the two racial groups eventually became highly accommodative.

There were white employees who merely tolerated employment along with Negroes. Negro employees in most instances accommodated to these employees by anticipating their negative attitudes and avoiding them. When they failed to do so, accommodation was supplanted by conflict.

The majority of the relationships among Negro and white employees developed into conciliation. Frequently Negro and white employees became friends in spite of racial factors. Throughout the plant Negro and white employees worked together harmoniously. Favorable contacts enabled white employees with intense racial antipathies to recognize the fallacy of many of their racial beliefs. Such employees often became indignant that they had been misled as a result of racial indoctrination and developed more liberal attitudes toward Negro employees than many who were less prejudiced in the beginning. The impact of plant contacts re-

sulted in a re-evaluation of their racial beliefs by white employees and favorable changes in their racial attitudes.

The high degree of accommodation which existed between Negro and white employees indicated that acceptance of Negro employees as integral elements of the plant personnel is possible. Supervisors agreed that the work performance of Negro employees was equivalent to that of white employees. They agreed further that the employment of Negroes in the plant along with whites had proved successful. They concluded that in their ability to work harmoniously with white employees and in the quality of their work performance lay no reason for non-employment of Negroes after the termination of the war. Nevertheless statistics revealed that potential integration of Negro employees was greater than their actual plant integration. Employment of Negroes remained highly responsive to emergency factors. During the two year period they were persistently concentrated among the four low wage occupations in the plant. There was a gradual penetration of more desirable positions but there were never more than twenty Negro employees earning as much as \$1.00 an hour. Management accommodated to integration of Negro employees less readily than non-supervisory employees, who evidenced a high degree of accommodation.

## A RESULTANT OF INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS\*

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THIS is a presentation of a change in a population group from a man-authoritarian culture to a woman-authoritarian culture, despite intimate and continuous contact with representatives of the western civilization for

approximately one hundred years. As such it presents us with a rather interesting case for analysis of our own trend during the past century or more.

### ABORIGINAL POMO SOCIETY

The Pomo culture of northern California contained a number of formal men's associations, such as, for example, professional groups of fishermen, hunters, doctors, gamblers, and money-manufac-

\* A similar paper, "The Formation of an Association in a Primitive Tribe," was read by Ethel G. Aginsky at the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association, December 27, 1946.

The authors' library research on this area was begun in 1932. They did field research during 1934, 1935, and 1936. From 1939 to the present, additional research on this community has been conducted under their direction by the Social Science Field Laboratory with a total membership of twenty-four. (Cf. "A Social Science Field Laboratory," W. Henderson and

B. W. Aginsky, *American Sociological Review*, 6, No. 1 [Feb. 1941], p. 41.) This article is a summary presentation of a chapter of a book now in process.

Thanks are due to the Social Science Research Council, and the Viking Fund for aid in financing the field research.

turers. A men's secret society was present, the chief purpose of which was to frighten the women and keep them under control. The men's sweat-house was a social club where men met for purposes of sweating, relaxing, and gossiping. There was a tribal council composed of the male heads of the various great families. It decided when dances and get-togethers would be held for social or religious reasons, when trading parties should be organized, and when neighboring valleys should be invited to pay visits. It also handled cases of aberrant individuals who had become too difficult for the family to control and took action in drastic cases which affected the whole community.

The women in this aboriginal society, on the other hand, had no associations or groupings outside the family. Their work was largely individualistic. They did have certain powers and functions, but they were usually in the form of assisting the real and nominal heads who were the men. Each family had a headwoman. She was usually an old woman who functioned as a secretary-treasurer of the family. She guarded the family valuables, was responsible for proper behavior with respect to gifts at weddings, funerals, and other group affairs with inter-family contacts, and was also the power in intra-family food-gathering, preparation for storing, distribution, and other matters of this kind.

#### PRESENT-DAY POMO SOCIETY

Not one of the men's aboriginal formal organizations is present today. The professions have all but vanished. The secret society has ceased to exist. The sweat-house is a thing of the past. There is no council composed of male heads of families. Each man functions as an individual within his immediate family, with little authority and few prerogatives. His responsibility usually ceases at the termination of a "marriage," in which case the woman cares for the children. Marriages are extremely brittle.

In 1920 the women formed an association known as the "Pomo Mothers' Club," composed of adult Pomo women. As a group they plan and control the majority of the social and other events. They organize activities which include contacts with people outside the tribal group as well as many of the "intra-tribal" affairs. They decide when dances should be held and when neighboring groups should be invited.

The club meets once a month, while the officers,

consisting of a duly-elected president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer, meet twice a month. Dances are scheduled monthly or oftener, depending on the season of the year. The club sponsors trips for members to represent them and present the Pomo arts and crafts in white communities in the surrounding area. It has had exhibitions and presentations in San Francisco.

The club has become the means of contact between the Indians and the various white communities. It also deals with governmental officials on such matters as hot school lunches for children, aid for non-ward Indians, and other problems of this kind.

The club provides a place for young people to gather and have a good time. At the dances it is possible to keep drinking at a minimum, and to have a certain amount of supervision of the younger members of the population in a pleasant and enjoyable atmosphere. The age range of the individuals who attend the affairs is from babes in arms to aged men and women.

An example of the Pomo Mothers' Club's social leadership in the area is reported in the *Redwood Journal* (the local newspaper), January 6, 1947, Ukiah, California, where it states that approximately three hundred Indians from fifteen reservations were present at a Christmas party arranged by the Club. The article describes the dancing, present-giving, singing, and the general good time which was had by all.

From the foregoing we can see that the change has been from a strongly-dominated male society to one where the women are the leading figures. This is a change which at first glance seems unwarranted as a result of contacts with predominantly patrilineal and patriarchal societies.

#### HISTORICAL PERIOD

By means of our investigation which included an historical reconstruction upon the basis of documented historical sources and the obtaining of a large number of autobiographies from whites and Indians, a number of facts emerged which cleared up the reasons for this change.

Both the Spaniards and the white Americans who originally came into this area treated these Indians in almost the same way. The leaders and warriors were hunted down and killed, or captured and taken away. It soon became known that it was dangerous for any man to show any indications of leadership. The men could show no signs of

organization. They were kept from practicing their traditional professions, and since they were separated from their younger male relatives, there was little opportunity for passing on their knowledge and skills.

Families were broken up. Fathers, mothers, and children were indiscriminately taken away from their families, with slight expectation of ever seeing one another again. Enslavement by both the Spaniards and Americans became the pattern.

There was mingling of men and women and children at the Spanish mission and later on the reservation which the American Army set up and supervised. The individuals who were left behind or escaped amalgamated in temporary unions. The expectancy amongst the Indians was sudden separation from one another. Temporary unions between men and women became the accepted and established pattern throughout the area.

The Russians, Spaniards, and early Americans who came into this area were all males. (It is interesting to note that this was the area of southernmost settlement by the Russians, northernmost settlement by the Spaniards, and the last area settled by the Americans.)

The Pomo women soon found that they were desired by these foreigners as sexual partners and in some cases as wives. This has existed to some extent up to the present time. Many women, after being mistresses, were left to shift for themselves. During the period of slaughter and kidnapping many women were left without relatives. In short they were left to care for their children without aid from their families.

As time passed a certain amount of stability came about, in which both men and women participated upon an equal basis. They were all agricultural laborers. Each individual, whether he was married or not, received his pay and kept it separate from the other members of his family. The one major difference was that many of the women were brought into the homes of white families to act as servants and nurses.

The early contacts with the Russian, Spanish, and American men began the disruption of Pomo society, especially of the family life, the occupations, and the various tribal organizations. The later contacts with the "forty-niners" gave fresh impetus to this, and subsequent contacts with the ranchers who settled in the area accelerated the breaking-down of the statuses, roles, and profes-

sions of the men. White society placed no value on Pomo professions.

The white men who came into this area left their wives and children behind. Their wives, who came from many parts of the United States, had been left with responsibilities of various kinds. Some had run farms, some businesses, and almost all had been the heads of families while their husbands were getting settled in California. When these women came to this area they maintained a certain amount of leadership and control. This was not too difficult since the men were very busy. The women aided in bringing in religion, education, law, and in cleaning up the village life, which was that of a rollicking, wide-open "frontier town."

The Pomo women who worked in the white homes found that the white women, although seemingly subservient to their husbands, actually controlled many of the community activities, especially in regard to education, parties, picnics, religion, and other community affairs.

During the period of turmoil the women found themselves with no one to lean upon and with young children to care for. They had to take over all of the necessary duties and prerogatives in order to exist. Thus they added to their former family roles the new one of being economically responsible for their children and the maintenance of the family. This was a concomitant of acculturation, especially because of the brittle unions which prevailed. This responsibility for the family has been extended to responsibility for the larger group.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The aboriginal Pomo, which was a man-dominated society, also contained some basis for the emergence of women into power. The contacts with whites were such as to augment the role of the women and minimize the role of the men. This was emphasized by the contacts of the Pomo women, especially with the modern white society, where women's clubs and associations play an important part.

The presentation thus far is not the whole picture. The men at present do have roles which are of real importance in the total Pomo community. This is especially true in relation to the social organization within each reservation.

We can summarize the causative factors for the change. Ever present in every population there are possibilities for both the men and women to be dominant in roles and statuses. Although a par-



ticular culture may contain a larger number of either male or female positions which have been standardized, nevertheless the opposite sex will have at least the propensities and abilities to become dominant, should the proper conditions come into the scene.

There was little possibility for the Pomo women in aboriginal days organizing themselves and assuming prerogatives in relation to the community aside from those which the men allowed them.

Almost everything of importance in the Pomo culture was deleted or negated by the Spaniards and the early American settlers. A rather large proportion of the women were left with no male relatives, but with young or unborn children. In short, the minimal human relationship was present, upon the basis of which all else can be constructed, namely mother-child. If this is absent there is no population perpetuation. This must be accepted as one of the constant inceptive points of human society. It is a universal. Without it populations could not continue and societies would therefore not be developed.

In the second place, although there were no women's associations in the aboriginal days, nevertheless the women did have some amount of authority and leadership in relation to the duties mentioned earlier in the paper. They also were acquainted with the aboriginal system of control as participated in by the men. Thus there was a certain amount of background stemming from the past.

In the third place, some amount of diffusion occurred from the contact with the whites, especially in regard to the women having contacts with the white women, as previously mentioned.

Thus any study of social change as a resultant of intercultural relations must include an attempt to establish (1) the ever-present which could be

called the constant inceptive points or universals; (2) that which has persisted from the past; and (3) that which has been diffused from some other cultural group.

During our field research in the area since 1934 we have recorded many changes. We can readily see that some of those changes are but a reflection of the changes in our own culture, which has tended to emphasize the role of women to an ever greater extent during the past century or more.

#### PARALLEL CASES

In our investigations among different minority groups (Indian, Mexican, and others) we have found that much of what we have presented thus far in this paper is paralleled in many cases. The displaced persons of Europe at the present time and the Negroes in America are two pertinent examples.

In every case which we have observed the majority group has deleted the men by killing, imprisonment, or by making it necessary for the men to leave the area in question. Furthermore there has been a negation of the possibility of the men's entering occupations and professions which convey status. Leadership has been penalized and organization punished. Non- or only partial participation in government is present with the concomitant of abiding by the regulations and laws imposed from the outside by the majority. Families have been broken up, marriages have become brittle, and each group has been confined to a limited area. The women have been used for sexual purposes by members of the majority group, while the converse has been outlawed. The net result in general terms is that the women are left with the responsibilities and as the nuclear members.

Thus one result of inter-cultural relations has been to emphasize the role of the women and minimize the role of the men.

## GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### THE MILITARY ENVIRONMENT

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IN ANY attempt to consider not only the characteristics but the origins of veteran behavior, it would seem necessary to take account of the military environment within which the veteran lived during his period of service. What were the differences between this environment and the civilian environment to which the serviceman had previously been accustomed?

The answer to this question might be clear and decisive, if it could be drawn in part from quantitative studies made within the military environment and formulated with precisely this question in mind. Unfortunately, the social scientists who were privileged to conduct research while in service found that research aims were defined by military requirements rather than by the larger behavioral hypotheses which might otherwise have been entertained. In the present paper, therefore, the data for a description of the military environment will be drawn from the retrospections of veterans studied in the medium-sized Illinois town of "Midwest";<sup>1</sup> from the attitudinal expressions, both of servicemen and of veterans, which have appeared in various publications; and from the more or less informal observations of social scientists who were themselves in service.

The limitations of such a method of inquiry will be obvious. Nevertheless the time now seems appropriate for a survey of available data—however imprecise they may be—and for an attempt to present the general outlines of the military environment which these data appear to suggest. The advantages of the attempt are perhaps, first,

to establish a basis for a more careful study of the military environment; and, second, to provide contemporary veteran studies with a tentative summary of the service-connected factors which may be assumed to have influenced the veteran's post-service behavior.

That the military environment differed profoundly from the environment to which servicemen, during their pre-service lives, had been accustomed may be taken for granted. It is confirmed, however, by at least three kinds of evidence. Foremost is the fact that a considerable number of men inducted into the armed forces—approximately 90,000, according to a recent estimate<sup>2</sup>—found themselves unable to endure the strain of adjustment to their new environmental situation, even under non-combat conditions, and were accordingly discharged for psychoneurotic reasons. Probably not all of these men had achieved a satisfactory adjustment in the course of their pre-service behavior. But it must be assumed that psychiatric "screening" at induction centers had considerably restricted the size of this latter group, and that most servicemen receiving psychoneurotic discharges had once been reasonably well-adjusted to civilian life but had found the adjustment to a military environment beyond the limits of their adjustment capacities.

Similar evidence may be obtained from men who presumably achieved a working adjustment to the military environment but who, following their discharge from service, experienced considerable difficulty in becoming accustomed again to the ways of civilian life.

Evidence of a somewhat more striking kind may

<sup>1</sup> For a general description of this research, see Walter H. Eaton, "Research on Veterans' Adjustment," *American Journal of Sociology* (March, 1946) pp. 483-487.

<sup>2</sup> Brigadier-General Elliott D. Cooke, *All But Me and Thee* (Infantry Journal Press, 1946).

be found in the attitudes of men in service toward the civilian life they had been compelled to relinquish. Once habituated to the military environment, they tended to think of civilian life as strange, distant, and unreal. "It seemed to me like I'd been in the army fifty years," one "Midwest" veteran said. "I even forgot what my friends were like, so I didn't get any fun out of writing them. It was too far behind." The serviceman seldom used the term "civilian life." He spoke, rather, of being "on the outside." And when he finally got on the outside, it was sometimes difficult for him to believe that he had actually been in service at all. Thus one veteran explained, "When I first got home, the most amazing thing to me was the complete break-off. Two weeks after I got out, it seemed as if it had all happened so long ago. It even seems closer to me now than it did then. I really can't think of any other period of time that seemed to place such a complete gulf between two experiences."

Certainly such data permit the assumption that profound differences do exist between the military environment and its civilian counterpart. The question then becomes: what is the general nature of these differences?

(1) The military environment is *externalized*. The serviceman was not always a soldier, sailor, or marine. During most of his life he was a civilian. And while the rules of civilian behavior were certainly imposed upon him, the imposition began so soon after his birth and was continued so gradually through the years of his development that he had come to regard them as *his* rules. They are thus, in a sense, internal to his behavior. With the military environment, the case is radically different. The serviceman did not grow up in this new environment—he was inducted into it. The rules it prescribed and which from the first day of service he was relentlessly compelled to obey were not his rules. Even though they invaded and established some degree of autonomy in almost every area of his behavior, he was never persuaded to obey them; he was simply told to do so, and so severe were the penalties for disobedience that he usually complied. Yet such compliance, for the citizen soldier if not for the professional, is seldom fully internalized. However carefully he may observe the regulations of the military environment, the average serviceman was aware that the rules were not his; that his acceptance of them was largely compulsory; and that an alternative set of rules—the civilian rules—

would guide his behavior following the termination of his service period.

Much of this externalization might have been avoided if the serviceman had been convinced that the war aims of the United States were explicit and necessary, and that his service in the armed forces was essential to their realization. Yet despite the weekly "agony hours" of indoctrination to which the serviceman was often subjected, this conviction was seldom achieved. The war, in his view, was not his war. Its aims and methods were those of the military environment, and compulsory as was their impact upon his behavior, the serviceman was rarely able to accept the fact that these objectives might also have been his own objectives as a citizen.<sup>3</sup>

It is in this context that the veteran's frequent complaints concerning military regimentation can perhaps best be understood. Typical of such complaints is the following: "You're so tied down in the army, you get so in the habit of taking orders, that when you get back you just kind of go to the opposite extreme. Somebody in the army is giving you orders all the time—telling you when to do everything all day long. Freedom! I think that's what I missed most while I was in the army. Everything you did, there was always some fellow to tell you where to do it and when to do it and how to do it." But it was not regimentation *as such* which made a sense of freedom impossible for the average serviceman. One of the profound insights of social science has been that a strong sense of freedom can persist among individuals whose behavior, to a surprising degree, is restricted and pre-ordained. Yet this can be possible only if the individual accepts the restrictions, is thoroughly accustomed to them, and has, in short, internalized them. Since this condition is not satisfied by the military environment, the veteran is correct in asserting that, in a military environment, he was not free.

(2) The military environment is *nostalgic*. Probably it is implicit in the status of the citizen soldier that he should regard the military environment as an exceptionally temporary and provi-

<sup>3</sup> This inability to conceive of U. S. war aims in positive and personally acceptable terms was one of the disturbing themes of nearly all interviews with "Midwest" veterans. It is reported more fully in a chapter "What Did the War Win?" to appear in a forthcoming book on veteran adjustment, by E. W. Burgess, R. J. Havighurst, and the present writer.



sional state of affairs.<sup>4</sup> Demanding as this environment may be, he is never completely absorbed by it. One of the most caustic remarks that one serviceman could make of another was that he had "found a home" in the armed forces. The average serviceman took pride in the essential ambivalence of his military career—in being in the armed forces but not of them. And it is seemingly an inevitable correlate of this fact that the serviceman should have been afflicted throughout his period of service by a deep nostalgia for civilian life. This nostalgia was expressed in many ways—by the enthusiastic reception accorded overseas broadcasts and USO camp shows; by the serviceman's endless exchange of home-town reminiscences with his buddies; by an insatiable appetite for newspapers and magazines from the states; and perhaps most of all by the indefatigable letter-writing in which the average serviceman engaged. In the community of "Midwest," the local paper's column of news from men and women in service frequently contained items such as the following: "John Martin, S.2/C, would like to hear from some of his friends here." "Pvt. Gordon Kosinski has been transferred to overseas service and would like his friends to write him at his new address." "Pfc. Raymond A. McDermot has written home that he would like to hear from his friends." The exchange of letters was a tenuous tie, but it served at least to assure the serviceman that there was still a real home to which he could return when the term of his subjection to a military environment was ended.<sup>5</sup>

(3) The military environment is *mobile*. From the morning of his trip to an induction center to the time of his arrival, years later, at a separation center, the average serviceman was almost continually on the move. He could never be sure where "orders" might take him, but he could be reasonably sure that they would arrive when least expected and would require his presence in some

part of the world where, even in his pre-service daydreams, he had hardly expected to be. Whatever the degree of his pre-service mobility, he became in the military environment a hardened traveler, accustomed to moving at staccato speeds through regions which were often excitingly different from his own. The effect of this mobility went far beyond the habituation to travel as such—the inclination to "keep going, even if it's only to another town." A "Midwest" veteran described this other aspect of the service environment's mobility: "Take these kids from the hills or from Tennessee—the service opened their eyes some. It showed them how to talk and work for themselves, if they were ever going to get any place. And some of these guys from Chicago, why they'd never even been outside of Chicago. They'd talked about fellows from the sticks, and they'd never been out in the sticks—they'd never even known what the sticks were." For every serviceman, the military environment thus provided a fast-moving introduction to many diverse ways of life.

(4) The military environment is—to use its own expression—*snafu*. Doubtless the very fact that no civilian term adequately describes the phenomenon to which "snafu"<sup>6</sup> refers is indicative of the considerable difference, in this respect, between military and civilian environments. The meaning of snafu is probably familiar by now to most civilians. It may be inferred from the following story taken from the news columns of the "Midwest" *Record* of January 15, 1946:

#### CARL OLSON HOPES TO SHAKE THE JINX

Carl L. Olson, S.1/C, who has approximately 40 days left to serve in the U. S. navy before being eligible for an honorable discharge hopes at the end of that period to shake the jinx that has been following him.

Olson was called into service three days before Christmas in 1944. In April, 1945, he was given sea duty two days before his baby was born, and she lacked two days of being a month old before he learned of her safe arrival.

Shortly before last Christmas he was given another leave, but had to report back again two days before the holiday. In the meantime he had not been paid for ten months.

Returning to Great Lakes, after the leave, he expected to stay there long enough to get the back pay, five days, but at the end of four days he was en route to Shoemaker, Cal. He had to remain there only two weeks for his records to catch up with him, so that he

<sup>4</sup> For a suggestive account of this and other implications of the citizen soldier's outlook, see August B. Hollingshead, "Adjustment to Military Life," *American Journal of Sociology* (March, 1946), pp. 439-447.

<sup>5</sup> One of the consequences of this nostalgia might be called the "nostalgia effect"—a tendency for post-service adjustment to be complicated by the sentimental over-valuing of everything which the serviceman, by reason of his induction, had left behind. The returning veteran was often disturbed to find his wife less fair, his town less friendly, and his companions less congenial than he had remembered them.

<sup>6</sup> Or any of its variations, "susfu," "fubar," etc.

could have been transferred back to Great Lakes, but in 12 days he was given sailing orders again, and still no pay.

Carl says if he can't get paid in the navy he goes at least that he can continue to get mail and has sent home his new address. . . .

Olson's troubles were experienced in some form and to some degree by every man or woman in service.<sup>7</sup> The source of snafu lies, of course, in the immensity and complexity of military organization and in the changing strategic and tactical requirements to which the military environment is subject. Its effect, on the other hand, is to reinforce the externalization of military behavior, since the serviceman, even if he were able, would naturally be reluctant to accept wholeheartedly the commands of an environment which seemed so malicious and contradictory.

At least one social scientist who is also a World War II veteran has written<sup>8</sup> that "Spiritually, . . . the soldier's life is more coherent than the civilian's, and being more coherent is more tranquil. He is spared the agonies of indecision which must torment the man who knows not what end his life serves. The military universe is, by all modern comparisons, a unified one; all its parts conjoin. From the point of view of the individual there is certainty about it."<sup>9</sup> Describing the social problem of demobilization, the same author refers to the veteran's "sudden loss of an orderly world, of

discipline from without, of paternalistic certainty."<sup>10</sup>

The average veteran who saw wartime service would probably disagree with such generalizations. There can be no doubt that, as shall later be suggested, the military environment is in some respects sustaining and paternalistic. And as we have already noted, it also provides the serviceman with an extraordinarily complete set of rules of behavior. The point at issue is whether the rules and paternalism of the armed forces ever actually instilled into the serviceman an abiding confidence in the "certainty" and "unity" of his military experience. The evidence suggests that this did not take place. As one twenty-year-old combat veteran said, "In the army, you take too many orders from Joes that don't know anything. The army teaches you not to think. If I went into a job now, I really couldn't think fast enough. No matter what you think, in the army you come to do a thing a certain way even if you know it's wrong." Another veteran said of his years in service, "I never learned a damn thing, looking back at them. I hated that. It wasn't so tough, but Jesus, they could spend more time not doing a job than doing it. We were in England for a year, working on a new airdrome, and I know damn well a civilian contractor with the equipment we had could have done the job in six months. I know in our particular case no matter who knew the most, the one with the most rank was always right. In our section a master sergeant, you might say, was backboning the job; and yet the colonel would say, 'Do it this way,' and you did it that way whether the colonel was right or wrong."

One of the popular items of army folklore was that there were always two ways to do a job—the army way and the right way. The "military manner" to which Nesbit ascribes so large a measure of certainty and order became, in the serviceman's vocabulary, a term synonymous with compulsory and ridiculous confusion.

(5) Yet despite the vagaries of snafu, there can be no doubt that the military environment is to some extent *sustaining*. Ordinarily the serviceman can depend on the military environment to furnish the physical necessities and many of the lesser conveniences of life. Medical and dental care are provided him. He is fed, clothed, housed, and transported. Barring flagrant dereliction of

\* *Yank* was a favorite sounding-board for military personnel in the Pacific theatre. The following letter from an army nurse was published in the magazine's November 16, 1945 issue:

We have been stationed on four posts since 17 July 1945. Nineteen days of that time were spent sitting in a staging area waiting for a boat home. We were assured we'd be home by 1 September 1945. On 4 September 1945 we were shipped from the staging area farther from the boat than we had ever been before. . . .

We hardly ever rise from our comfortable chairs, yet we are called essential. . . .

Since when does it require a medical major and captain, two first lieutenants, one second-lieutenant nurse and three Medical Corpsmen to care for 15 ambulatory convalescent patients who are clamoring for transportation home? . . .

<sup>8</sup> Robert A. Nesbit, "The Coming Problem of Assimilation," *American Journal of Sociology* (January, 1945), pp. 261-270.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 264.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 266.

duty, he is paid each month and can count on unusually regular employment. If his personal affairs, legal or otherwise, are in need of expert attention, legal aid and personal affairs officers stand ready to assist him. All of these goods and services are his for the asking, and most are provided whether the serviceman asks for them or not. Whereas in civilian life he had recognized that Saturday night pleasures, and their consequences, must be at his own expense, he learns in the military environment that, whatever happens, the service will feed and clothe him. And he quickly becomes accustomed to rely on this fact and to enjoy the brief but extravagant freedom, on week-end passes and on furlough, which it permits.

The military environment is sustaining also in the intense *esprit de corps* which sometimes accompanies the interaction within its smaller groups. Some idea of the sustaining nature of this group spirit may be had from the reminiscence of one young veteran: "While the war was going on, we always traveled in a crew of six. That is, there were six of us in the tank we were with. And almost every night, maybe around midnight or when you were on guard duty, or whenever any of the fellows were around, we'd have a little bull session. And then when the war tapered off, there were eight of us in one squad tent, and sometimes at night—in fact almost every night—we'd get a field range out in the middle of the tent and maybe make ourselves some French fries. We'd sit around and talk then, just the eight of us. You miss that shooting the bull. That's about all—just talking over things with the fellows. But you were with these guys from the start of things, for several years maybe. You got so you knew them pretty well. You knew all about them. You knew their families—not that you'd seen them, of course, but just by hearsay. There was just an air of comradeship that you knew in the army that's not true here. You miss the noise and having all the fellows around."

Such *esprit de corps* was not an inevitable result of the close contacts afforded by the military environment. As a twenty-year-old veteran explained, "Before I got in the army, I always trusted everybody. When I met someone, I'd trust him until I found out that I shouldn't. But now it's just the other way around. I don't trust them until I find that I should." But the same veteran added, "Of course, there are always a few exceptions—myself and three of my buddies who fought

overseas together and came back together. There isn't anything I wouldn't do for one of them. But they were almost the only guys in the whole army that I would trust." This compulsory socialization of the military environment, which was sustaining to some servicemen, was merely depressing to others. An older veteran described his reactions: "At home, if I didn't like anybody or if anybody looked down on me, I just let them go their way and I went mine. But in the army you couldn't do that—you had nothing to say about it, no alternatives. You just had to take that crap."

(6) The military environment is *intemperate*. Hundreds of thousands of servicemen who might not otherwise have done so, learned in the military environment to drink, smoke, swear, gamble, loot, deal in stolen goods, and seek out the company of prostitutes. A description of this behavior, as it occurred in one army company, may be found in a recent article by Malcolm R. McCallum, "The Study of the Delinquent in the Army."<sup>11</sup> "Something like 80 per cent of the men in my company engaged in [gambling] at one time or another. . . . Approximately 60 per cent of my company had relations at one time or another with professional prostitutes or with pick-up girls. . . . Approximately 80 per cent of my company engaged in [looting] in one form or another. To be an expert looter was a term of social approbation."<sup>12</sup> These statements are confirmed by the veterans interviewed in "Midwest," one of whom explained: "The first thing [the members of the X Division] did when they took over a town, they wanted something to drink. They were tired and worn out and they wanted something to drink. Then they wanted a woman. And then they wanted to go out and see what they could loot. And brother, when I say loot, I mean some of them looted! And that wasn't confined to the enlisted man. As soon as we'd take a town, the battalion commander would order everybody else to stay in their positions, and then he'd go and make an inspection and take whatever he wanted. It would be the battalion commander, and then the company commander, and then the executive officer—they'd all go first. Then they'd let the rest of the officers have their turn at it. Then if there was anything left for the enlisted man it was his turn."

The causes of such behavior need not be con-

<sup>11</sup> *American Journal of Sociology* (March, 1946), pp. 479-482.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 481.



sidered here, nor is it necessary to decide whether behavior of this kind is intemperate in any ultimate ethical sense. The fact of sociological importance is that servicemen are educated by the military environment to accept patterns of behavior which many, in civilian life, had considered "immoral," "wrong," or simply unattractive. One veteran summed up his impressions of the intemperance induced by a military environment: "You take a young kid. If he goes to camp, he's going to learn a lot of things he doesn't need to learn. Some of the things he'll learn are good, but some are bad. Physically, the army improves a man a hundred per cent, but morally, I don't know. I've seen a lot of kids who were good kids when they got in but they really got off on the wrong foot. Probably the younger you are, the more it affects you. The older man is more set in his ways, and the army won't change him so much."

(7) The military environment is *class-permeated*. As recent discussions of postwar military reform seem to have made clear, there is no aspect of the military environment which the serviceman found more objectionable, or in more profound conflict with the habits he had acquired as a civilian, than the officer-GI class system which a military environment supported.<sup>13</sup> In his civilian experience the serviceman had become acquainted with the fact that all men are not born free and equal; that some are favored with more prosperous parents or more generous natural gifts than others; and that these differences are instrumental in dividing many of America's towns according to the "right" and "wrong" sides of the tracks and other less obvious distinctions. Nevertheless the serviceman, whatever his pre-service class position had been, was accustomed to its privileges and limitations; it was *his* position, and unless he or his family had been downwardly mobile, the chances are that his acceptance of this position was reasonably complete.

Entering the service, the inductee found himself in immediate, continuous, and intense competition for military status. He found that within a very few months after his induction the men who were then his peers, as privates, had been assimilated into a complex hierarchy of enlisted ranks. If he later received a commission, he found that the

status system within the commissioned-officer class was fully as exacting as that which he had encountered as an enlisted man.<sup>14</sup> In either case, he found that military status is everywhere highly visible, clothed in unmistakable symbols, and armed with authority and privilege far in excess of that which status ordinarily enjoys in civilian life. That this status system may be indispensable to the functioning of the military environment, or that its excesses are perhaps required by the very externalization of military behavior, in no sense reduces the discontent it occasions the average serviceman.<sup>15</sup>

Evidence of this discontent can be found in almost every document relating to the attitudes of servicemen toward their military superiors. No doubt much of it was the result of frustrations for which the persons disliked were not directly responsible. Thus the average enlisted man probably disliked officers, in part, for the same reason that he disliked Frenchmen, Englishmen, and American civilians, 4-Fs, and defense workers.<sup>16</sup> He was in a frustrational situation; these persons were not in precisely the same situation; therefore he disliked them. But the original motivation for his dislike of officers was usually less roundabout, as

<sup>14</sup> A detailed account of the inductee's initiation into this system is contained in Robert C. Stone's "Status and Leadership in a Combat Fighter Squadron," *American Journal of Sociology* (March, 1946), pp. 388-394.

<sup>15</sup> Perhaps, too, it should be noted that a number of these characteristics of the military environment—its mobility, its externalization, its snafu—make it difficult for the serviceman to lessen this discontent by identifying himself with those who have authority over him. How could he possibly achieve a successful identification with higher ranks whose personnel is so constantly changing, whose purposes are seemingly so foreign to his own, and whose orders are forever being countermanded or revised in so apparently absurd a manner?

<sup>16</sup> The following stanzas are from a poem which was popular among men at a Marine corps base in the Pacific:

At night the wind keeps blowing—  
It's more than we can stand;  
No, we're not the convicts,  
We are defending the land.

We're privates in the Marine corps,  
Earning our meager pay,  
Guarding people with millions  
For a buck sixty-six a day.

<sup>13</sup> "Caste" has been widely used in describing this system. The use of this more emphatic term is understandable; but the distinction between "caste" and "class" is generally recognized and will be observed in the present instance.

can be inferred from a letter published in *Yank* in December, 1945: "Many officers can't figure out why the EM are so prejudiced against them. What we EM can't figure out is what God-given reason or military order says officers shall eat steak and drink whisky while their subordinates eat hash. That is why we are prejudiced. We can't get used to the idea that we aren't good enough to eat and drink what they do." The letter was signed by "Cpl. Keith Troxel" and "35 others."

A somewhat different grievance was described by a veteran: "You know, what used to get me was all the unnecessary meanness some of those officers would take out on the enlisted men. You know, one thing I could never understand was how they used to make everybody suffer because one guy did something wrong. One guy in the outfit stepped out of line, maybe, and made the whole outfit suffer. Find a cigarette on the floor, they'd make all the guys get down and scrub the barracks. Get two or three guys shooting craps, and the whole outfit's restricted. Why the hell don't they just punish the guys shooting craps? That never looked right to me—I could never get that through my thick head." Perhaps the most complete bill of particulars ever drawn up in behalf of the enlisted man was an article "What's Wrong with Our Army?" written by Robert Neville, a former editor of "The Stars and Stripes," and published in *Life* magazine.<sup>17</sup> The complaints are too numerous to be included here, but they present a formidable brief for the average serviceman's dislike of the status system within the military environment.

<sup>17</sup> *Life* (February 25, 1946), pp. 104-112.

#### AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN FELLOWSHIPS FOR GRADUATE STUDY OF RESEARCH, 1948-49

The American Association of University Women announces national and international fellowships to be awarded *in general* to candidates who have completed two years of residence for the doctor's degree, or who have already received the degree. The greatest importance is attached to the project on which the candidate wishes to work, its significance, and the evidence of the candidate's ability to pursue it. Applications and supporting materials must reach the office in Washington by December 15, 1947. For detailed information concerning these fellowships, instructions for applying, and the conditions of acceptance, address the Secretary, Committee on Fellowships Awards, American Association of University Women, 1634 I Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

*National Fellowships* are open to American women for study in the United States or abroad. *International Fellowships* include a fellowship for a Latin American woman to study in the United States and fellowships open to members of the International Federation of University women.

To some servicemen, however, this status system presented a different aspect. These were the men who achieved during service a degree of upward mobility which they had found impossible in civilian life. An ex-navy lieutenant probably voiced the sentiments of many similar veterans when he said, "I think my service experience made me see that Midwest is rather a small-minded town. They don't count on a person's ability here—all they're interested in is what's gone on before—what the person or his family has done in the past. I found in the navy that it was the man's intelligence and ability which decided whether he would go ahead and how far he would go. There's no prejudice because of your name—Romero or Smith or Brown. But here if you don't have a perfect background, it's no good." In much the same way that geographic mobility acquainted the serviceman with ways of life in regions other than his own, upward mobility within the military status system sometimes allowed him to occupy positions of authority which he might never have experienced as a civilian.

The effect which these seven aspects of the military environment have had upon the serviceman's later adjustment to civilian life will not be systematically treated in the present paper. Obviously, to do so would require a description of almost every aspect of veteran behavior. It might be added, however, that the "Midwest" study mentioned above has made profitable use of the analysis of the military environment which has been presented here.

## THE NEGRO IN THE ARMED FORCES

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Negroes have worn their country's uniform since before the Civil War, and have acquitted themselves very well on many occasions. As elsewhere in America, the policy of the Armed Forces has been that of segregation; usually that of establishing separate colored units.

Segregation in the Armed Forces has been much discussed; the arguments against segregation are generally the same as those against segregation elsewhere, but one purely military argument is to be added: Since Negroes comprise about 10 percent of the Army, Negro units must necessarily be more limited in the fields they cover than the 90 percent of white units. Negroes with training in fields in which Negro units do not exist are thus unable to put their specialized training to use, and may be found performing menial tasks in units devoted to other purposes. A Negro electroencephalograph operator—a specialty of which the Army was desperately short—might very well be placed in the Engineers or the Quartermaster Corps, because there were no Negro-operated General Hospitals in the jurisdiction of the Headquarters responsible for his assignment.

Potent arguments are, however, advanced in favor of such segregation. It is maintained that the primary mission of an Army and Navy is to fight, not to try and reform or improve the social customs of the country which it serves; ignoring the custom of segregation on the part of the Army or Navy would have decreased its fighting potentialities because of the presence in the ranks of a large number of individuals who would strenuously object to being made to live, work, eat, and fight with colored "brothers-in-arms." Another argument, often overlooked by those who preach abolition of segregation is that separate Negro units have full complements of men through all the enlisted ranks, and a certain proportion of colored officers. This assures promotion to about the same percentage of Negro enlisted personnel as white. If segregation were abolished, and 10 percent of every organization were Negro, the number of Negro NCO's would be greatly reduced, because of the refusal on the part of many whites to serve under Negroes, and the reluctance of white officers to promote a Negro over a white;

Negroes would be relegated almost entirely to menial tasks.

A survey of the role of the Negro in the various Armed Services will serve to clarify the picture.

In 1940, the Regular Army contained five Negro Officers; Brigadier General Benjamin O. Davis, an officer who had risen from the ranks, Lt. Col. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., West Point '36—the only Negro West Point graduate then alive, the three previous Negro graduates, West Point '77, '87, and '89 respectively having since died—and three Chaplains. There were, however, a certain number of Negro Reserve Officers who were called to active duty upon the outbreak of war.

The Army has used the bulk of its Negro personnel as work troops: Quartermasters, Engineers, Transportation Corps, Medical Sanitary Companies, and so forth. It has been the policy, though, to have Negro personnel in every branch of the Army, and one Negro unit at least of almost every type extant. This has been done largely so that it would be possible to make the statement that Negroes participate in every one of the Army's activities, and has had a beneficial effect in some directions. When the Army asked for volunteers for paratrooper training, it took the white volunteers that met the qualifications, and formed them into companies, more or less the first 150 qualified applicants for one company, the next for the next company, and so on. When they announced that Negroes were to be permitted to volunteer for the same training, they organized just one company, picking the men from among the hundreds who applied. The result is that the colored paratrooper company contains soldiers carefully selected from among hundreds of applicants, and therefore, a group on a much higher social and intellectual level than the average among colored soldiers in the Army as a whole, while the white company contains a group of whites who are, on the whole, selected only from the point of view of meeting physical standards. As a result, the Negro company has much higher standards than the white. The fact that the Company was not organized until too late to



see combat service does not detract from the excellence of the group composing it.

Various colored units can be cited to show the above trend. The 99th Pursuit Squadron of the AAF was trained as an all-colored organization at Tuskegee, having the then Lt. Col. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., the only Negro West Point officer, as its Commanding Officer. The Squadron took its place fighting the Germans in Italy and earned a good reputation. The 758th Tank Bn was considered one of the Army's best. Its Commanding Officer is quoted in an article in *Life* as saying "I'm a cotton-patch Southerner myself, but I don't call these boys niggers; I call them American Soldiers, and damned good ones!" To these can be added the 689th Signal Aircraft Warning Co., which was active in the Pacific.

Other colored units which, although not illustrative of the principle of selection, should be mentioned here are the 614th Tank Destroyer Battalion, the 588th Motor Ambulance Co., which received a plaque for its work in evacuating patients for the 7th and 10th Armored Divisions, and the 9th and 10th Cavalry which carried on a tradition that Negro Cavalry have been a part of the US Regular Army since the Civil War. The 93rd Infantry Division, containing 16,000 colored enlisted men, and 1,000 officers, half colored and half white gave the Negroes a chance to become members of the "Queen of Battles."

The rule of segregation in the Army was not inflexible. In situations where no command relationships existed, where personnel were attending schools, and where command rotated among an entire group—patients in hospitals, OCS candidates, students in ASTP, and personnel enjoying recreational facilities—Negro and White could be found side by side, and very little friction was caused. In rare cases Negro and white personnel were engaged in the same tasks, and served in the same units; the Armed Forces Radio Service, *Yank*, AAF Base Unit Classification and Personnel Sections, and Separation Centers are examples thereof; furthermore the Counter Intelligence Corps, and the Criminal Investigation Division had an occasional colored agent working in close collaboration with the white agents.

The United States Navy has practiced more discrimination than the Army in recent times. In 1922, the Navy closed its doors to the enlist-

ment of colored personnel and did not reopen them, although those already in the Navy remained in it throughout this period, until a shortage of Filipinos caused enlistments for the messman branch to be reopened in 1936. Not until 1 January 1942 was the enlistment of Negroes for general duties begun. Finally, on 24 April 1944, the first group of 12 Negroes were appointed Ensigns for General Service; soon thereafter 10 more were appointed Ensigns in the various Staff Corps. This brought the proportion of colored officers to colored enlisted men up to 22 to 120,000. When the Navy did open up, however, there was less segregation between Negro and white, if only for the reason of the Navy's lack of a unit system, and the impracticability of building separate barracks, etc.

The Marine Corps started accepting colored enlistments the same time as the Navy, in 1942, and formed the Negroes into separate units. The 8th Field Depot, consisting of colored Marines, distinguished itself fighting as line troops at Iwo Jima, and won special commendation there.

The Coast Guard, among all the services, had the least segregation, both in training and in operation, and accepted Negroes from the beginning of the war.

Among the women's services, the WAAC, and later the WAC, paralleled the Army. An article in *Life* depicting the training of WAC officer candidates shows that the colored girls were formed into an all-colored platoon, part of an otherwise white company, that they were assigned separate quarters, that they drilled and attended lectures with their white classmates, that they ate in the same mess hall, at separate tables, and that on graduation, they were destined to command colored WAC troops, or to serve in administrative capacities on "colored posts."

The Army Nurse Corps accepted Negroes, but only to a limited extent, and with rare exceptions, such as that at Camp Beale, where Negro and white nurses worked together with all patients, employed them only in hospitals serving solely Negro troops.

The Waves and Spars did not accept any Negroes until very late in the war, and then only accepted a token number.

In November 1942, the Maritime Commission finally gave a Negro shipmaster, the first of his race, a chance to exercise the use of his masters license, which he had held for a number of years,

and put him in command of the SS "Booker T. Washington."

In 1942, the Negro troops were among the first to be sent overseas; the first shipments went to Australia, to New Guinea, and to the United Kingdom. Once overseas, the Negro soldier found himself treated quite differently by the local population than by his fellow white Americans; overseas, the Negro was accepted simply as an American soldier, and welcomed as such. The only friction along racial lines was with white American soldiers who often objected to the association between colored troops and local white women.

When US forces landed on the Normandie beaches on D-day, colored port companies unloaded under fire, and colored Engineer and Quartermaster troops were among the first ashore.

When the beachhead was extended, and the push across France started, the bulk of the supplies was hauled in over the Red Ball Express. This was a through highway, routed over French main roads, from the beachhead to wherever the front line was at the moment; colored Engineers maintained the road, and colored Quartermaster and Transportation Corps trucking personnel drove the trucks. Two men to each 2½ ton truck, they would load up at Omaha beach, and drive to the forward supply dumps, one man driving, the other acting as relief driver, guard, and machine gunner. The trucks would roll at 60 m.p.h. for two and three days at a stretch with only the briefest of stops.

When, during the Battle of the Bulge, the Germans pushed to within 10 miles of Namur, Belgium, the troops mostly responsible for slowing down the German advance until fresh combat divisions could arrive in the area, were colored Quartermaster Depot Companies, QM Laundry, Truck, and Gas Supply Companies of the Advance Section, Communications Zone, usually referred to as "Sadsack Headquarters," and known as "strictly rear-echelon"—for this the writer of this article is particularly appreciative because just at that time he was one of 30 men trying to guard 3000 German PW's with carbines, about 3 miles the "wrong" side of the river from Namur. The presence of Negro Field Artillery Battalions, particularly the 969th at Bastogne at this time must also be brought up.

During this time, when the Germans were sending picked squads of saboteurs and spies, dressed in American uniforms, behind our lines,

the colored troops proved their worth as Security Guards—the Germans were able to duplicate almost every feature of American clothes and equipment, and send over men who spoke English and American slang well enough to be mistaken for GI's, but there was one thing they lacked: their shortage of Negroes was acute.

After the Battle of the Bulge, a call went out to the service troops, for volunteers for service with the Infantry. Many Negroes volunteered; since there were no colored Infantry outfits in the ETO, the Negro volunteers were formed into platoons, and attached to white companies in otherwise white infantry divisions; there, they did very well indeed, and the newspaper published overseas by the Army, the *Stars and Stripes* was full of their praise.

One judgment about the fighting abilities of the Negro troops was given as early as 1943; German PW's, captured in North Africa were quoted (in *Life*) as saying that the troops they feared most were the Australians and the American Negroes. This may have been due to the reputation of the Negro 897th Air Base Security Unit which had held at Faid Pass, although a white unit had broken and run through its lines to the rear, or to that of the French colonial troops, or to recollection of the 93rd (Negro) Division in World War I. But, even if it was only due to German propaganda, it was an advantage to us, because it raised fear of American troops among the Germans.

So far, one side of the picture has been presented. There is also another side. Discipline, as the Army measures it, was lower in colored units. The Army measures discipline statistically and proceeds to oversimplify its figures and confuse cause with effect. The rates of AWOL were higher in colored outfits, but what the Army's figures did not show was that the AWOL rates were equally high in any outfit which is used solely as work troops, some of whose officers tend to despise their men and treat them in a manner unbecoming American soldiers, and in which going AWOL means a change to being treated like men again. The penal battalions of the German Army provide a good parallel to this. More Negroes were court-martialled, but the fact that a white MP would be far more likely to "throw the book" at a Negro for an act which he would ignore in a white was not considered. More Negroes coming before courts-martial were convicted, but the

writer would not fancy being in the position of a Negro enlisted man trying, with inadequate, hastily selected, and inexperienced counsel, to prove his innocence to a court martial board composed of officers without benefit of legal training, a larger or smaller number of whom might very well come from areas where anti-Negro prejudice was highest, and which in only very few cases included Negro members.

Negro VD rates were higher, but, under the influence of white soldiers, only the very lowest class local women, among whom the VD rates were equally high, would associate with the colored soldiers. Finally, a greater percentage of Negroes were involved in black market dealings, and in selling Army supplies, but a disproportionate number of the long-haul poorly supervised drivers were Negro, some of whom felt resentful at the treatment they had received in the Army and who felt that this was a good way to get their own back.

One fact about the Negro soldier has been very little advertised. Having tasted equalitarian treatment overseas, and, in some cases having fallen in love with or having married local white women, an appreciable number of colored soldiers applied for their discharges overseas and intend to remain there. The percentage of colored soldiers applying for overseas discharge is about three times as high as that of whites.

When the war was over, the Regular Army began its recruiting campaign, offering a choice of branch of service and of Theater of Occupation to all those who would reenlist or newly enlist for a three year hitch; again the percentage of Negroes who saw in continued service in the Army not only a good job with a maximum of security, but also an opportunity of remaining in locations where discrimination was at a minimum, was much higher than that of whites. So many Negroes applied for enlistment that the Army established a quota for them, a move which caused considerable opposition in pro-Negro and progressive circles, and among the Negro press.

In the Armies of our Allies, discrimination was either entirely absent, or much reduced. The

Canadian forces were known for their lack of discrimination, so much so that many American Negroes crossed the border into Canada and joined the Canadian forces rather than endure segregation and discrimination in the service of their own country.

The British, although practicing discrimination in some of their colonies and dominions, do not discriminate at home. The Wiltshire Regiment, one of the crack British Regular Army outfits had one Negro in its Regimental Band, and this is an Army where the honor of a regiment is symbolized first by the regimental flag and crest, and second by its band.

In conclusion, it must be said that the parable of the mote and the beam applies to the Negro in the Armed Forces; those of us who waxed enthusiastic over the role of liberator of oppressed peoples and lyrical over the advantages of democracy over fascism might do well to give serious consideration to the position of the Negro. When it is fully realized how the Negro, having grown up in a country in which he is considered a second-class citizen, in which restrictions and discrimination, whether overt or concealed, face him at every turn, nevertheless, enlisted, fought, sacrificed, and died for the ideals to which we render lip service, then, perhaps, the "Negro problem" will be much nearer a solution, and the Russians will be deprived of their stock answer to our charges of oppression in Russian-dominated countries.

As a postscript, it is worth appending the story of the white soldier from the north who went home on an emergency furlough from his camp somewhere in the deep South. On his return, he was relating his experiences to his buddies: "I hitch-hiked through Mississippi, and I was picked up by a Negro Major. He told me that he was on his way home, also on an emergency leave, to see his sick child. You know, that child must have been very sick; we drove all day, and he never once stopped to eat... after all, he didn't look like the kind of officer who wouldn't eat with enlisted men!"



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**THE THEORY OF HUMAN CULTURE.** By James Feibleman. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1946. 361 pp. \$5.00.

The author of this book, a philosopher, has set out to show anthropologists and other social scientists what he considers they should do to set up a science of culture. For the most part the points which Dr. Feibleman makes will probably not be considered news by social scientists, although the book is written in such a way that one has the impression that the author

considers the opposite to be the case. However, he deserves credit at least for organizing certain common propositions regarding culture into a somewhat systematic form.

He points out that each culture is faced by a hierarchy of empirical levels: physical, chemical, biological, psychological, and social, and that the analysis of culture may correspond with these empirical levels. The concept of the ethos is brought forward referring to the core of values in a given culture. The integration of a culture is

tied up to a concept which is phrased in original terms and called by Feibleman the implicit dominant ontology. This is described as a logical system underlying culture, and consisting of postulates from which deductions are made more or less unconsciously in the system. One coordinate of the value of culture is said to exist in the number and strength of its institutions. "An institution cannot be out of place in the culture, either higher or lower than it ought to be, without lowering the total value of the culture." In Chapter 6 an attempt is made to classify the various types of culture into seven categories, and finally certain "laws" are suggested for the explanation of cultural change. The foregoing occupies roughly the first third of the book and consists of the theoretical system. On the whole it seems to the reviewer that the system is relatively naive and suffers from the author's apparently slight knowledge of cultural data. Furthermore, the propositions are stated in very general form without sufficient corollaries developed to afford useful leads to empirical research. We are told once again that the study of culture will become a science when ways and means are found to measure the quantity and intensity of various elements. Rather than repeating lofty platitudes of this sort, it would seem that the real usefulness of a scientific theory should lie in its applicability to data with the methods and techniques at hand. If we have to wait until means are found for the quantification of all aspects of culture before being able to test a system of this sort, the theory maker is relatively safe. This has been precisely one of the difficulties with theories in modern social science, and the present book does not go far toward obviating this difficulty.

The second two-thirds of the book is devoted to "some examples of culture" and "treatment of culture." The analysis of cultures is remarkably elementary. Admitting that these chapters are probably intended primarily as illustrations, I feel that it would have been more productive to have concentrated on a more thoroughgoing analysis of one culture, rather than a superficial demonstration of the system in several.

The concept of implicit dominant ontology seems to me to be a useful one. The author, however, goes to extremes of simplification when he attempts to analyze English culture in terms of only four postulates. Furthermore, it is

questionable as to whether or not the concept itself does not need elaboration. One gathers that the author sees all cultures logically organized on the basis of postulates which are included in the i.d.o. A good many cultures can be cited, including our own, in which a neat logical relationship between parts of the culture is by no means demonstrable. Or perhaps we should say that some other system of logic than Aristotelian deduction is involved. The actual truth of the matter seems to be that cultures are functionally organized or integrated to a greater or lesser degree, but that such organization is frequently far from logical. If philosophers knew a little more about culture and were less obsessed with logic, their systems of cultural theory would frequently be more useful and productive of scientific results.

Social science, however, should welcome the interest which several philosophers have recently taken in the study of culture. The most fruitful results would seem to lie in a close collaboration between social scientists well acquainted with extant theories and data in the cultural field and philosophers expert in the logical manipulation of concepts. Let us hope that this book is a step in this direction.

JOHN GILLIN

*University of North Carolina*

CAN SCIENCE SAVE US? By George A. Lundberg. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1947. 122 pp. Paper bound, \$1.00; cloth bound, \$1.75.

Lundberg has long been a prophet of the positive and quantitative approach to social problems crying in a wilderness of social scientific lag. In this book, essentially constituting the materials presented in the Walker Ames lectures at the University of Washington in the spring of 1945, and parts of which have previously appeared in *Harpers* and the *Scientific Monthly*, he addresses himself to a sophisticated but general audience. It is a vigorously stated, closely reasoned, semi-popular tract for the times, emphasizing the lag of scientific attention to problems of human relations, including those of an international nature, as compared with the emphasis upon and success in application of scientific principles and procedures in the physical and biological fields.

In successive chapters he deals with: (1) the "pre-scientific thoughtways" that prevail in the

treatment of human relations ("The word *science* has mainly honorific significance as applied to human relations." p. 4); (2) the applicability of scientific principles and procedures to social problems and the "blocks" in peoples' heads that must be cleared away; (3) the slow, partial and inadequate but nevertheless reassuring "transition to science in human relations"; (4) the importance and necessity of educating people generally from the grades on up as to "the broader meaning and methods of science" rather than mainly in its subject matter, as at present, and "especially must we extend the application of that method to the realm of human social behavior" (p. 67); (5) the significance of science as the strategic instrumentality in the achievement of the "good life" for man or "whatever ends he chooses to pursue," and the compatibility of science in its functions with "the arts, literature and the spiritual life" ("Render unto science the things that belong to science and to metaphysics the things that belong to metaphysics." p. 97); and (6) the indispensability of scientific investigation "to discover and alter conditions that produce wars" (p. 111) and also with respect to "demographic, ecological, economic and cultural principles" (p. 109) to which social organization, including that for the world, must conform if peace is to prevail.

This is a brilliant, earnest, concise exposition and summary of the status of social science, its neglect by those concerned with human "values" and treatment, and its applicability. Sociologists are familiar with its main tenets, and most of them are in entire agreement with them. But people generally should read it, lest they further embroider their prejudices, superstitions, misconceptions, and archaic thoughtways in the field of human relations.

The reviewer is still perplexed, however, by difficulties to which the Lundbergs need to devote themselves. There is the question as to *how* to educate the scientifically erudite to *apply* their scientific knowledge and methodology in *all* aspects of their lives as well as in their specialties. We all despair of nationally and internationally noted colleagues in various fields of science who sound off with the most nonsensical ideas and engage in the most ridiculous unscientific activities "outside their field." Related to this is the long-discussed error of Socrates, namely, that making men wise—even giving them instrumentalities

of "truth" and construction, which they approve and cherish—still does not necessarily result in good action on their part. How to develop a consistently "effective will" or "guts" is so frequently a glaring problem. Science still has the task, after producing knowledge of causes and processes and techniques, of discovering and applying the subtle processes of "will" formation and manipulation. Finally, there is the lack of objectivity on the part of various persistent advocates of scientific procedure in their relations with cooperating and equally sincere colleagues where emotion, ambition or ego-compensation enter. In brief, how can scientifically informed and trained human beings become consistent scientific actors?

J. O. HERTZLER

*University of Nebraska*

THE PROBLEMS OF MEN. By John Dewey. New York: Philosophical Library Inc., 1946. 424 pp. \$5.00.

However men may differ in their evaluation of the technical contributions of John Dewey to philosophy, there can be no doubt that for more than half a century he has been the leading exponent of science and education as the means whereby alone the social values of democracy can be clarified and implemented. The thirty-two essays which comprise this volume bring together the scattered writings of Dewey on these topics during the past ten years, with the exception of the introductory essay, which is new, and one essay dating back to the end of last century.

It is significant that this essay, on the "Logical Conditions of a Scientific Treatment of Morality," should sound the keynote of the book. The author refers to it as "an anticipation of the direction in which I have moved during the intervening fifty years." This movement has been counter to the prevailing trend in social science, namely, that social ends or values are not subject to the same factual determination as are technological means. Such a view Dewey holds to be not only a stultifying fallacy, but a form of modern obscurantism which directly strengthens the traditions and special interests which have heretofore blocked the free application of scientific method to problems of social concern. For if the values that men seek are purely private and personal preferences unamenable to rational determination,



those who are able to command the means are "totally arbitrary and irresponsible with respect to the ends which they finally produce, although these ends are all that mankind prizes!" The net result is to strengthen the demand for a "moratorium on science" among secularists and to promote a supernatural theological philosophy among their opponents. For to the former, if the values of science are means and only means, its continued increase cannot fail to render life less secure and abundant for the masses of humanity. And to the latter is furnished scientific confirmation of their dogma that values are beyond the reach of human determination, and that revelation from on high has provided the only sufficient safeguard against social and moral chaos. These results, of course, do not prove the doctrine to be false. But they do provide a basis for a reconsideration of the grounds upon which it rests and make the problem of values and valuations "the central issue for some time to come."

He also challenges the "cult" of relativism, which would reduce all standards to mere preferences of time and place. "Dependence upon space-time connections now marks all the victories won by scientific inquiry" but "it is silly to suppose they terminate in mere particulars. On the contrary, they constantly move toward the general, provided only the generalizations have to do with wider and wider connections, so as not to swim in wordy vacuity."

With regard to the alleged "subjectivity" of values, he acknowledges of course that values are not objective in the sense of residing in objects independent of their connections with human behavior. They have a human factor in them, but this can not legitimately be interpreted in such a way as to result in a skeptical denial of the possibility of any logical and public judgments about them. "The view that value judgments are 'objective' for the same reason that other judgments are accepted as valid because, that is, they are verifiable by the hypothetico-inductive method, is that upon which the neo-empiricist stands."

The evidence in support of these positions is weighty, and the reasoning is cogent and clear. But they defy summarization, and must be left to the reading of the book itself.

HOWARD E. JENSEN

Duke University

THE WAY OF THE SOUTH. By Howard W. Odum. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. 350 pp. \$3.00.

This book is a sweeping summary and interpretation from the point of view of the folkways and culture of Dr. Odum's forty years concentrated study of the sociology of the South. Most of the more strictly factual data upon which the book is based have already been published in a dozen other well-known studies by Dr. Odum and his associates working in the Department of Sociology and the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina.

The framework of this book is distinctly sociological and follows the systematic framework of Dr. Odum's introductory text, *Understanding Society*, published this fall. In various places throughout the book the author states he is undertaking to write a "living biography" of the people of the South—their past and present, with some suggestions on future trends.

The book proper contains three major parts, with five chapters on "Background and Heritage," ten on "Through the Succession of Years," and three on "Toward Regional and National Maturity." Specific subjects dealt with in the various chapters include natural resources, frontier and migrations, the plantation and the Negro, the people and their special southern ways, culture and history, the fading of the Old South into the New, ancestral influences of various social classes, the romantic glory of the Old South, the sociological weaknesses (the grandeur that was not) of the old southern civilization, the role of the great middle folk and the common man in the building of the South, the predominant influence of religion in southern culture and folkways, the folk songs and music of various classes of the people, types of leaders and especially political leaders, trends in education, resurgence of North and South animosities over the South's treatment of the Negro, recent developments in the South towards a greater maturity, beginnings of social planning, and the need for regional quality and balance between the South and all other regions of the nation. Foremost in the discussions of the book is the problem of biracial adjustment. Although the book focuses on the unique phases of the culture of the South, the cultural interdependence of the South and other parts of the nation is constantly emphasized. The author sees sectionalism (regional misunderstandings and animosities) giving way to true and sound

regionalism (appreciation of interregional relationships and cooperation).

*The Way of the South* is a good integration of the various phases of the culture of the South. The book will be most helpful in both academic and non-academic circles in explaining the folkways, mores, politics, and new institutional trends in the South. The book is timely and much needed. With the South destined to furnish the population deficit areas of the North and West most of their immigrants for the next fifty years, there will be an increasing demand for a better understanding of the sources and conditioning environment of these migrating peoples.

Although Dr. Odum and his southern associates have already given us the richest collection of books and monographic studies on a particular region that we now have in the United States, this reviewer would have liked to see him make his book twice as large as it is. It appears to the reviewer that Professor Odum just barely missed making this a great book. The framework and generalizations of the book are excellent, but those of us who live beyond the South and know and understand so little about it, need a greater richness of detail, more concrete and graphic illustrations, fuller explanations of just how the South got its peculiar ways, why it holds on to these ways so persistently, and the almost insuperable difficulties of making certain social changes in the near future, especially in the field of interracial folkways and mores. We needed a book on southern ways like Sumner's *Folkways*. Explanations and interpretations lacking to the reviewer are: reasons why the southern people have not made greater use of their rich resources; why per capita wealth and income remain so low; why per capita economic productivity, especially in agriculture, is not higher; why ruralism persists so strongly; why a near condition of peasantry exists in so many rural areas; why so many in the farm population cannot throw off the downward drag of exploitive tenancy and "cropperism"; why hundreds of thousands of the neediest farmers must continue to pay out one-fourth of their meager incomes in excessive time charges and interest rates; why both white and Negro birth rates remain so high; why the poll tax is retained; why suffrage is still denied to the vast majority of Negroes; why social segregation between the two races is the most basic of all southern mores; why educational opportunities for white and Negro children are so glaringly unequal; why

trade unions and minimum standards of employment meet so much opposition; why so many southern people are suspicious about newly imported ideas and social practices; and why a dozen other social, economic, political, moral, and religious phenomena make "the way of the South" unique and peculiar.

Nobody can give us the full picture, explanation and interpretations of these conditions and situations so well as Dr. Odum. This reviewer hopes Professor Odum will still find time to climax his great sociological career in the South with a great book on the sociology of the South. Dr. Odum has set the precedent for many other sociologists to go to work on their regions and to explore them in all their richness of sociological phenomena. We hope he will show them how to synthesize their results in great regional sociological treatises.

FRED R. YODER

*State College of Washington*

SOCIOLOGY: A SYNOPSIS OF PRINCIPLES. By John F. Cuber. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1947. 590 pp. \$4.00.

Not often is a title as accurate as this one. Professor Cuber has rigorously delimited his materials to what he considers the essential minimum; thereby reversing the trend set by other recent introductory texts in the field. Further, he has written purposely in the language of students, being careful always to bring his ideas down to a level which sophomores ought to have little trouble reaching.

These two characteristics will make it interesting to watch the reception given the book. How teachers react will indicate the sort of text they desire. The book will not be an easy one to teach because of its simplicity. It will require the teacher to fill in and expand its own sparse presentation. To those who like to develop their own ideas and to take their students down interesting by-paths of their own choosing, this will seem an advantage. To those who like to select from a wide range of materials in the text and emphasize what seems to them most important, this will seem a distinct lack.

The teaching fraternity may also split over the style in which the book is written. Though the appeal is obviously to the student with his limited vocabulary of sociological terminology and his lack of interest in the professional universe of discourse, it must be remembered that no student

ever chooses a textbook. To professional sociologists, who do make such selections, it is entirely likely that this simplicity will appear as "too elementary," "journalistic," or "lacking in scholarship." Or, it may be that some will dislike the necessity for developing their own supplementary materials and will brand the work as "trivial."

As to arrangement, the text begins with culture, ties in the person with a discussion of social psychology; approaches social organization and disorganization through studies of groups and institutions. Throughout the emphasis is social-psychological, with major emphasis on attitudes and folk beliefs as the terms in which society and social action must be understood. This is particularly apparent in the discussion of race relations, where the Myrdal approach is used. Sources quoted or included in the bibliographies are sparse, but up to date, and neglect many of the names and ideas we have become accustomed to seeing in elementary texts. This may cause some uneasiness on the part of the more traditional-minded fratres.

A final chapter undertakes to summarize the book and might well be made a basis for discussion of what is essential to a beginners' course in sociology.

HARRY ESTILL MOORE

*University of Texas*

**THE MONEY VALUE OF A MAN.** Revised Edition.

By Louis I. Dublin and Alfred J. Lotka. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1946. 214 pp. \$6.00.

The first edition of this book appeared in 1930 and consisted of a series of studies that had been published from time to time in the *Statistical Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. As correctly indicated by the title it was an attempt to equate human life to a money value. As the years have passed, some fundamental changes such as the lowering of the interest rate and the reduction of the death rate have made necessary extensive recomputations—calculations which have materially increased the "money value of man."

A glance at the 12 chapters into which the book is divided gives a fair idea of the nature of the volume. A brief "Introduction" merely sets the scope of the inquiry and defines value as used in this study. Chapter 2, "Historical Retrospect,"

briefly surveys early estimates of man's cash equivalent, taking note of the prices of slaves, valuations for compensation, and various other estimates of man's cash equivalent, from the early ones of Sir William Petty and Adam Smith to the later ones in the more rigorous works of Irving Fisher, G. Mortara, and J. R. Walsh. Chapter 3, "The American Family," is one of the important additions found in the revision. It supplies the essential background in which the "money value of the wage-earner has its significance." "The Cost of Bringing Up a Child" and "Income in Relation to Economic Status" are the self-explanatory titles of Chapters 4 and 5. The basic inquiry of the study, "The Money Value of a Man as a Wage-Earner," is Chapter 6, and in it the methodology is explained as the calculations are presented. The next four chapters examine the social welfare aspects of the subject, being entitled "The Burden of the Handicapped," "Valuation of Indemnity for Personal Injury or Death," "Disease and the Depreciation of the Money Value of a Man," and "Application to Public Health." "Application to Life Insurance" and "Social Insurance in Relation to the Money Value of a Man" are the subjects of Chapters 11 and 12. Five appendixes, "Formulae," "Age Schedules of Family Consumption Units and Savings," "Tables of Basic Data," "Effect, Upon Money Values, of Changes in Basic Data," and "Tables of the Value of a Man," along with an "Index" complete the volume. A total of 57 tables and 8 charts are included in the study.

The "money value of a man" is the present value of his *net* future earnings. Assuming average mortality and an interest rate of 2½ percent, at age 40 the values for men with net incomes of \$1,500, \$3,000, and \$5,000, respectively, are as follows: \$10,200, \$26,800, and \$54,500. The book is carefully done, is authoritative, and should be studied by everyone who is faced with the necessity of placing a cash value on the lives of human beings.

T. LYNN SMITH

*Louisiana State University*

**THE SOCIAL SYSTEM OF THE MODERN FACTORY. THE STRIKE: A SOCIAL ANALYSIS.** By W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low. Yankee City Series. Volume IV. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947. 245 pp. \$3.00.



For too long the sociologists left the factory to the economists or to those specialists somewhat akin to both: labor economists, personnel and labor relations workers, and students. Recently they have begun to make up for that neglect. This fourth volume of the Yankee City Series is a valuable addition to the growing list of books treating the factory as a manifestation of sociological phenomena.

The title page states that each volume in the series is complete in itself. That is true as respects the reader, though many who find this book invaluable have already found the earlier studies equally indispensable. But the statement is too modest as far as the authors are concerned. For into the making of the study went the encyclopaedic knowledge of the community gained for the whole series. They knew the social, economic, and ethnic history of Yankee City, the changes in ability and responsibility of leadership, the changes in motivations and satisfactions of the workers. And so the strike, which seemed on the surface like a sudden change among the workers from non-union separatists inexperienced in group action to stubbornly and successfully fighting unionists, is shown as the result of fundamental changes that had been in progress for years.

The study has covered everybody in the community together with the subtle reasons for position and grouping—family background, race, nationality, economic status, occupations, income, residence. And so what to a student of the factory alone might seem like irrational distinctions in the rank of jobs and grouping of workers on jobs becomes a projection of community complexities. What might seem in cross section to be the normal, rational way of running a shoe factory is shown in perspective as one stage in a century long evolution.

The story of the strike itself is told with a sense of drama and of the interplay of personalities. Anyone who has ever been even on the outskirts of such a community upheaval knows how important these factors are, but they have rarely been adequately described and evaluated in accounts of strikes.

To the history of events is added a "social analysis" of the community in a period of crisis, the kind of period which, as the authors point out, is the best possible moment of achieving insight into behavior. Out of this examination of a crisis, and

backed up by detailed knowledge of the social system of the community and of the factory itself, emerges a social analysis of our modern industrial system.

This analysis raises some imponderable and disturbing questions. Is our machine civilization building a system in which a proletariat is inevitable? Is ability giving way as a means of social and economic mobility to education, and that in turn drying up for all but a few? Are our modern financial, marketing and regulatory systems growing into a sort of octopus in which owners, managers, and workers alike are relatively helpless?

This is a book that sociologists would do well to study. It will give them much concrete illustration in a field with which most of them are familiar chiefly in theory. It is a book that men of affairs should ponder. Most of it is in their language and the conceptual theories are clear and logical. If this machine age of ours is a glacial-like force against which we can only peck at the edges for relief from pressures, then as many of us as possible should understand the nature and force of the pressures and help with the pecking.

HARRIET L. HERRING

*University of North Carolina*

CHILDREN OF THE PEOPLE. THE NAVAHO INDIVIDUAL AND HIS DEVELOPMENT. By Dorothea C. Leighton and Clyde Kluckhohn. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947. 277 pp. \$4.50. Illustrated.

In many ways *Children of the People* cannot be properly understood unless it is looked upon as complementary to *The Navaho*, by the same writers. For *The Navaho* covers the situational and cultural context in which the tribe lives, whereas *Children of the People* is primarily concerned with the psychological end product in the individual. Together, the two companion volumes make up the authors' contributions to the Indian Education Research Project that was begun several years ago by the University of Chicago's Committee on Human Development and the United States Office of Indian Affairs.

Only a part of the material in the present book was secured in direct conjunction with the Indian Education Research Project. Professor Kluckhohn, in particular, drew his data almost exclusively from his previous field work; but Dr. Leighton supplemented her earlier Navaho studies by supervising the conduct of a large scale testing

program. As to the writing out of the material, Kluckhohn is credited with having "drafted" Part I (chapters 1-4), while his fellow worker prepared Part II (chapters 5-9) as well as the Introduction and Conclusion.

There is so marked a dichotomy of subject matter and treatment between the portions for which each of the co-authors is chiefly responsible that it may be well to evaluate each part separately. The first three chapters contain an incisive description of the crises through which an average Navaho passes from birth to death. Many new and important ethnological items are presented, and Professor Kluckhohn is to be particularly commended for such choice bits as his comprehensive account of the use and significance of cradle boards. In addition, the first three chapters deal effectively with matters like childbirth, nursing, weaning, toilet training, food habits, discipline, the acquirement of hardihood and technical skills, the attainment of puberty, marriage, death customs, and other world concepts.

Up to this point the work does not depart very far from established ethnographic methods, and Dr. Kluckhohn's exceptional competence is everywhere evident. However, the fourth and concluding chapter of Part I is devoted to an analysis of the "psychology" of the people. Insofar as it treats of the attitudes manifested in the reciprocal behavior of pairs or groups of relatives, this section, too, runs smoothly; but when Kluckhohn launches into a discussion of "Navaho 'Psychological' Traits," we come to the weakest part of his contribution. The trouble stems from his declaration on page 94 that "The purpose of this chapter is to describe certain ways of feeling and reacting that are typically Navaho, neglecting those which are broadly human." In the light of such a statement what is one to make of a passage like the following (pp. 107, 108): "When the Navaho operates in a context where he knows what is expected of him and of others, he feels secure. . . . In an uncharted or new situation . . . the Navaho feels insecure. . . ." Are such reactions "typically Navaho" or are they "broadly human?" Later, on page 113, Kluckhohn contradicts his own basic premise when he writes: "A Navaho believes that the lava flows are the congealed blood of monsters slain by the Hero Twins because everybody who is anybody in his world says so. White men also believe many things on authority. . . ." If that is so, why should such beliefs be interpreted as "typically Navaho"?

Part II of *Children of the People* is entirely given over to materials gleaned from the employment of several psychological techniques. Under Dr. Leighton's supervision, and often at her own hands, some 211 children aged 6 to 18 were medically examined and psychologically tested. They were drawn from the three communities of Shiprock, Ramah, and Navaho Mountain, in the proportion of 99, 49, and 63, respectively. Most of the data were obtained from performances in various Intelligence and Protective tests, but the results were supplemented by interviews, visits to the homes of subjects, and the examination of school records. Numerous tables, carefully constructed, show the average scores achieved on tests by different subgroups arranged according to age, length of schooling, place of residence, etc.; and the figures for the Navaho are compared with those of a check sample of white children. In addition, the case histories of 16 individuals are written out in full.

Broadly stated, the psychological investigations reveal that, while particular Navaho children may vary considerably in their emotional and "personality" make-ups, they seem as a class to be practical youngsters, much concerned with property and work, interested in maintaining good relations in their family circles, and motivated by a genuine dread of supernatural creatures. A considerable amount of anxiety was also disclosed in most instances where white ways of life were impinging on traditional patterns of Navaho behavior.

No serious student can read Dr. Leighton's share of *Children of the People* without acquiring deep respect for the hard work she did in assembling her materials, and for the modesty and integrity with which she has presented her data. It is to be regretted, therefore, that her concluding chapter seems to contain a serious flaw. This appears in her discussion of the interplay of personality and culture. Two pages after having expressed the belief (p. 233) that "a young Navaho becomes 'characteristically Navaho' only if he grows up in the Navaho social environment," Dr. Leighton asks us "to bear in mind the probability that some personality characteristics are independent of culture to a degree; that Navahos are born with certain temperamental potentialities which may differ from those of other groups of people." The latter statement is reminiscent of Dr. Kluckhohn's attempt to distinguish "typically Navaho" from "broadly human" behavior. Frankly, it is to be doubted whether any living scholar is

equipped to separate (except in the details of their cultural manifestations) specifically tribal from generally human feelings, attitudes, and reactions.

Judged as a whole, *Children of the People* provides a good deal of insight into Navaho culture and personality. It is interestingly written and splendidly illustrated, and it is worthy of careful consideration as an effort to merge psychological and anthropological methods. That psychological findings are important in helping to confirm and validate the judgments of ethnologists, this book amply demonstrates. On the other hand, the psychological data seem to depend so completely for their interpretation on what was previously known of Navaho culture, that it is highly questionable whether, in the absence of similar knowledge, tests can be expected to provide (p. 227) "quicker means of reaching an understanding of people than the usual anthropological techniques."

MISCHA TITIEV

University of Michigan

**FROM DEMOCRACY TO NAZISM.** By Rudolf Heberle. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1945. 130 pp. \$2.50.

When this slim volume was originally planned fifteen years ago it was meant to be a German equivalent to André Siegfried's *Tableau Politique de la France de l'Ouest sous la Troisième République*, to be paralleled by a number of studies that would finally draw up a political atlas of the German Republic. The coming of Hitler sadly interrupted this ambitious enterprise. Today after the breakdown of the Third Reich the book constitutes not only a remarkable contribution to the much neglected field of political sociology but also a most timely warning against the great simplifiers who decree National Socialism as a German malaise, a propagandistic trickery, or a megalomaniac's misdeed, and who thus misjudge its persistent threat as a "permanent revolution" of world-wide dimensions.

The introductory chapter on "Origin and Nature of the National Socialist Party" puts the movement into its historic context and rightly emphasizes its social basis, which is unfortunately not destroyed with defeat on the battleground. Naturally these discussions of fundamentals are kept at a minimum, though one might have wished that the author had enlarged upon then and had taken into account the numerous comprehensive studies on the character of modern totalitarianism. Yet

even within such self-imposed limitations his remarks are always pertinent and often articulate less known features of National Socialism such as its differentiation from Prussianism.

The following chapter on "Political Parties and Elections in Schleswig-Holstein before the First World War" brings into full relief the special characteristics of the area under discussion and explains the surprising hold that liberal progressivism and social democracy attained in this border district of predominant *Kleinbürgertum*, urban and rural, afraid of the increasing political and economic encroachment of Prussianism and large-scale enterprises.

The main body of the study deals with "The Political Movements Among the Rural People and the Ecology of Political Parties in Schleswig-Holstein from 1918-1932." The circumspect analysis shows the complete shift in political party adherence of this erstwhile leftist stronghold to National Socialism, until this province represented in 1932 the only election district of the Third Reich where Hitler mustered an absolute majority and two-thirds of the rural votes. This amazing political turn is fully explained in terms of ethnic movements, social constellations, the successful control of economic interest groups, and the creation of a new type of political machine that in its totalitarian claim could satisfy the "community feeling" and the desire for active participation, especially pronounced among a largely rural population. These findings are substantiated by a careful breakdown of the well-chosen area into three distinct sub-regions (Western Marshes, sandy Geest, and the Baltic Hill Zone). They give a perfect illustration of the impact of social stratification on political alignments. They reaffirm the often claimed petit-bourgeois basis of the movement. What made the masses succumb to National Socialism was the resentment of small farmers and small businessmen against the "big shots," the egalitarian temper and the promises of desired economic security, much more than the ideological aims of imperialism, anti-humanitarianism, and anti-Christian spirit of the ruling Nazi clique. Their full conversion to the victorious Third Reich is interpreted as a rationalization of conduct motivated by ambition or fear, self-deceiving compromise, or hopeless resignation.

Such an analysis may permit a certain degree of hope for "recovery" of early liberal traits, yet the complete submission to the rule of the militant,



fanatical minority may also forewarn against an early "relapse" under the even more unfortunate conditions of total defeat. It may be too early to appraise the lasting effects of National Socialism, especially on a young generation, and to look for a democratic awakening now. Still one effect seems to be inescapable: the fatal legacy of totalitarianism is a vacuum, politically, socially, and spiritually.

SIGMUND NEUMANN

Wesleyan University

GERMANY'S UNDERGROUND. By Allen Welsh Dulles. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. 207 pp. \$3.00.

THEY ALMOST KILLED HITLER. Based on the personal account of Fabian von Schlabrendorff. Prepared and edited by Gero V. S. Gaevernitz. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. 150 pp. \$2.50.

Gustav Dahrendorf, a prominent German socialist, member of the German underground, and survivor of the ill-fated plot against Hitler's life, made the following statement (quoted by Schlabrendorff, p. 78): "The revolutionary attempt of the 20th of July, 1944, should not be considered as a badly managed undertaking by officers who had lost hope, and who wanted to escape from an awkward impasse; nor as an attempt of disgruntled, reactionary militarists to dissolve the link binding them to Fascism. Both descriptions would be false and unjust. The motive force behind the preparations was a firm political will. *There was only one aim, to liquidate fascism and end the war.*"

To those who have made some effort to get information on what went on in Germany during the war this statement is no news. The Bishop of Chichester, speaking on the strength of his personal contacts with the anti-Hitler conspiracy during the war, published an article on the subject which was reprinted in this country in *Christendom*; and the *American Historical Review* (July 1946) carried a highly instructive analysis by Franklin L. Ford. But this information has reached only a small number of people. For the public at large the German Resistance Movement continues to be the object of a skepticism which ranges from grudging recognition to a flat denial of its existence. We hope that the two books before us may do something towards correcting this attitude which is untrue to the facts and harmful to a constructive European policy.

The Macmillan Company is to be congratulated on being served by two eminently competent authors. Their expositions supplement and corroborate each other. The more important of the two books is undoubtedly the one by Allen W. Dulles. Mr. Dulles served from 1941 to 1945 as chief of the Strategic Services Mission (OSS) in Switzerland, and in this capacity he was in close communication with emissaries of the underground. After the surrender of Hitler's armies, as head of the OSS Mission in Germany, he was in a position to add to the information gathered during the war. The material, obtained under uniquely favorable conditions, is worked up into a clear, straightforward narrative. The writer follows the development of the organized resistance to National Socialism inside Germany from its inception (which was simultaneous with Hitler's seizure of power) down to its catastrophic end, marked by the miscarriage of the attempt on Hitler's life on July 20, 1944.

Fabian von Schlabrendorff's report adds but little to the factual knowledge conveyed by Dulles, which is only natural, since this report is one of the sources on which Dulles drew in composing his account. But Schlabrendorff, a prominent member of the German underground and one of the few survivors of the massacre which followed the disaster of the 20th of July, tells a story which no mere observer, however sympathetic and intelligent, could emulate. His narrative, aside from its historical value, deserves to be read as a human document. Although this second book has the directness of personal memoirs, it is as unadorned, matter-of-fact, and as free from eulogy and dramatization as its companion-piece. The reader is allowed the privilege of discovering for himself the elements of heroic saga and *acta sanctorum* involved in these bloody events. This, surely, is a wise reticence.

From the accounts before us certain basic facts about the German underground emerge which may be summarized as follows.

1. The Resistance Movement was recruited from members of all classes and all parties with the exception of the Communists (who had their own underground activities), and, of course, the National Socialists. The prominence of high-ranking army officers in the movement is partly explained by the fact that they alone enjoyed a measure of freedom of movement in Hitler's police state.

2. The motives animating the members were mixed, and their political philosophies were far

from uniform. But barring a few eleventh hour converts, the condemnation of the Hitler regime as an affront to humanity and a pollution of the honor of Germany was an important motivating element with all of them. And with the majority, especially with the unchallenged leaders, Colonel General Beck and Karl Goerdeler, this element was an enlightened and passionately held conviction.

3. In the attitude of the men of the Resistance Movement there were manifest certain moral foundations which withstood the corroding influence of National Socialism. These foundations may be traced partly to Christian convictions, partly to a tradition of honor and duty, and partly to socialist-liberal ideas. Among these sources of strength, the liberal tradition was of least significance. Approximately two-thirds of the members belonged to the nobility.

4. The chief reason for failure lay, of course, in the formidable power wielded by Hitler's totalitarian state whose secret police kept a close and unremitting watch over all phases of life within its boundaries. Among the concurrent causes two stood out: the vacillating and cowardly attitude of numerous high-ranking German generals, and the failure of the Allies to cooperate with the resistance forces inside the *Reich*.

Mr. Dulles, I believe, shows himself a fair-minded judge in writing: "It is easy to criticize the German underground for its delays, disunities, vacillations, and ultimate failure. But in a police state such as Hitler and Himmler organized it is not likely that men will do much better than a Beck, a Goerdeler, a Moltke, a Leuschner, or a Stauffenberg" (p. 198).

HELMUT KUHN

*Emory University*

**BERLIN UNDERGROUND 1938-1945.** By Ruth Andreas-Friedrich. Translated by Barrows Mussey, with an introductory note by Joel Sayre. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1947. 312 pp. \$3.00.

This is an extremely interesting, excitingly written account of the activities of one of the many small groups of anti-Nazis that operated in Berlin during the years 1938 to 1945. Presented in the form of a diary, the book is obviously based on some kind of record kept during the war. If ever the history of the German resistance groups should be written, Mrs. Friedrich's book will be a valuable source, for facts as well as for "atmosphere." The

activities of this group began in 1938 when they started to hide their Jewish friends and neighbors—a work of charity which in the course of time assumed a larger scale while becoming increasingly intricate and dangerous. As members of this group became involved with the Moltke circle and later with the Beck-Goerdeler group, new tasks of aiding, protecting, and of spreading information arose. And finally, during the battle of Berlin, the group was enlisted in a city-wide illegal propaganda campaign and in attempts to curb the senseless guerilla warfare planned by the Werewolves. Incidentally the book gives a vivid account of air raids and of civilian life in the dying metropolis.

Two central facts are pointed out very convincingly: first, that far more "Aryans" risked their lives to give aid to Jewish people than is generally assumed; second, that under the extremely efficient system of social control, developed by the party with the aid of its affiliated organizations and the Gestapo, any organized mass resistance against the regime became impossible. What happened in cases of spontaneous outbursts of opposition is illustrated by the fate of the students at Munich. And, a very essential point: "... who's any better for opening your mouth if they grab you ... the next moment and very quietly string you up? Martyrs need an audience. Anonymous death never did anyone any good."

RUDOLF HEBERLE

*Louisiana State University*

**REFUGEES IN AMERICA: REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE STUDY OF RECENT IMMIGRATION FROM EUROPE.** By Maurice R. Davie and Associates. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947. 453 pp. \$4.50.

This timely book will be welcomed by all who want an accurate picture of the refugee and his situation in America. It is the result of a project undertaken by the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe, assisted by an able research staff under the direction of Maurice R. Davie of Yale University and backed by several agencies interested in the refugee and his problems.

The procedures of the study were: (1) analysis of existing materials and (2) collection of new data through the use of questionnaires and other devices. Over two hundred social agencies throughout the country helped the research staff by compiling lists of recent immigrants, circulating questionnaires, making interviews and community surveys, and

collecting life stories. The main source of the data was a general questionnaire designed for individual immigrants over 16 years of age. Other special questionnaires were designed for doctors, dentists, business enterprises, and immigrant organizations. Over 11,200 replies to the general questionnaire were received, representing 638 communities in 43 states and the District of Columbia. In spite of certain admitted biases, these replies seem to constitute a fair sample of the total body of refugee immigrants from Europe, that is, those arriving since January 1, 1933.

In its 21 chapters this book discusses such topics as the extent of the refugee movement; what refugees think of America; their economic, social, and cultural adjustment; their activities in business, professions, and the arts; young refugees; and what America thinks of the refugee. Appendices present the questionnaires used in the study and other pertinent information.

Contrary to popular notion, America has not been "swamped" with refugees. Our total immigration from all countries during the period 1933-44 was only 528,549. Even on the assumption that all of the immigrants from certain European countries entering during this period were refugees from Nazi persecution, the total number is only a little more than a quarter of a million. Since the Jews were Hitler's scapegoats and felt the full fury of the Nazi terror, they naturally constitute a somewhat higher proportion of the refugee population than of normal immigration. Dr. Davie estimates that they constitute about 80 percent of the refugees entering this country.

The report points out that the refugees represent a somewhat higher social level than our usual immigrants and that their absorption into American culture is thereby made easier. Furthermore, the various agencies assisting refugees have done a good job of locating them in many different localities. In no city do refugees comprise as much as one percent of the total population.

Among the refugees are many scholars, scientists, writers, and artists who are already making notable contributions to American life. The work of certain atomic physicists who fled to America contributed greatly to the winning of the recent war.

In concluding, Dr. Davie points out that "the end of the war has not meant the end of the refugee problem." There are still ten million or more displaced persons who are in need of some sort of assistance. At least a million of these are "state-

less" or "unrepatriable" and must find new homes where they can enjoy security and rebuild their lives. As Dr. Davie well says, "It would be strange indeed, especially at this time when the lives and liberties of millions throughout the world are endangered, if we, with our proud tradition as a refuge for the oppressed, should refuse to bear our share of a great human problem by closing our gates."

GUY B. JOHNSON

*University of North Carolina*

**DYNAMIC MENTAL HYGIENE.** By Ernest R. Groves and Catherine Groves. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Sons, 1946. 442 pp. \$3.75.

I do not recall the principal title of a volume of many decades past, but the descriptive subtitle said, "A Compendium of Useful Knowledge." This might well be the subtitle also of this new book. It is beamed primarily to those preparing for the rapidly developing profession of family counselors, but there is much in it of value to professional people in related scientific fields.

Throughout the nine chapters on various "Aspects of Mental Hygiene," biological, psychiatric, religious, etc., the authors remind the counselor where to get off. He must recognize the limits of his activities in the same way other professional persons recognize limitations. The counselor is not to regard himself as a specialist prepared to operate in borderland areas, although to be an efficient counselor he must know a great many things about the sciences which relate to personality and to inter-personal relations. As a counselor he should have sufficient knowledge of adjoining professional areas to be able to recognize that the client has such difficulties, in order that he may properly refer him for diagnosis and possible treatment. The proverb, I believe, is nowhere quoted that "A little knowledge is a dangerous thing," but almost every page has on it that suggestion. There is much stimulation toward knowing more and more of these related sciences. He may thereby be the better counselor, but he must limit his activities to his own professional field. I do not violate the context when I interpret it also to say that as the profession of family counseling sets up and follows professional standards and ethics, practitioners in other professions, who have been compelled by their clients and patients to give counseling on technical problems of marriage and



the family, will respect the professional character of the work of the family counselor, and they will be glad to refer such clients to him.

One is impressed with the emphasis placed upon the essentials of information in each of these "Aspects" with which he must continue to be familiar. To my mind another commendable characteristic of the chapters in Part I is that, while an unbelievable amount of information is given as illustrative materials, nowhere does one of these chapters attempt to become a textbook in a particular special science. One is rather intrigued by what they do *not* tell. Much specific information is given, and general principles are fortified and clarified by well summarized case materials. There is something irresistibly teasing about what is given and what is not. The generous infiltration of interrelated materials from other chapters is a binder between the successive chapters of sometimes apparently diverse subject matter. The fusion of the materials of Part I is achieved in Part II where the authors discuss their application to the training for professional family counseling.

Of course, for authors with years of teaching, of professional services, and of authorship, it is almost necessary for them to orient the discussions around teaching purposes. Part II of the volume does just that. The reader is soon glad it has been done that way. While method, techniques, and assisting devices are given emphasis, the student is not belabored with overstressed insistence upon stereotyped procedures or mechanistic formulas. Nowhere does it become defensive. The whole gives definite place to the knowledges which compose the field; to scientific orderliness of procedure of interview; to organization of materials; to professional attitudes and ethical requirements toward the client and his problems. There is a pervading feeling of the creation of rapport based upon dignified informality and friendliness which inspires the client's confidence in the counselor and in his willingness and ability to give guidance.

The Appendix is in keeping with the purposes of the text. The first division gives well selected, separately listed, bibliographies in Mental Hygiene, Family, Counseling. There follows a generous Glossary of terms technical to the various fields surveyed. Finally, Study Material, arranged by chapters, includes "Questions for Discussion"; "Subjects for Reports"; and "Selected Book and Periodical References," separately and topically arranged. And—the Index is ample.

Limitations in arrangement and organization of materials, as well as limitations in content, result, first, from wartime restrictions upon publishers, and, second, from the readers' special personal interests in subject matter. Many of the earlier chapters could easily be expanded into a professional text, but this is beyond the scope of the book. The restrictions of content stimulate the wish for more and more specific knowledge in a given chapter. The well organized Appendix satisfies that need.

Some may be overwhelmed by the vastness of knowledges necessary to prepare for this professional service. The demands for training in this profession are no greater than those for other major professions. Like training in all of the professions, the demands are insistent and continuing, and the satisfactions are more largely altruistic than economic. Whatever other limitations there may be, the work is still "A Compendium of Useful Knowledge." Graduate students, who have had access to copies of the book, urge it for use as a basic text.

This together with *The Contemporary American Family* (with Gladys Hoagland Groves), a revision of his earlier *The American Family* to appear shortly, is the last, a posthumous publication, from the generous pen of Ernest R. Groves, with his daughter Catherine, well-known author in her own right, as co-author. Because of war restrictions, the publication date was delayed a short while. The fact that he was so often co-author with members of his immediate family adds strength to one's conception of family unity. This is hardly the place for eulogy, but we may observe with propriety that the *good* some men do lives after them. This, his last work, is of that kind. It is indeed *dynamic* mental hygiene.

H. L. PRITCHETT

*Southern Methodist University*

ADJUSTMENT TO PHYSICAL HANDICAP AND ILLNESS: A SURVEY OF THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF PHYSIQUE AND DISABILITY. By Roger G. Barker, Beatrice A. Wright, and Mollie R. Gonick. New York: Social Science Research Council (Bulletin 55, 1946). 372 pp. \$2.00.

In all science no subject is of more general interest than that which concerns the relationship of human behavior to human physique. Despite its modest title, the work under review attempts no less than to scan this vast field of knowledge. It is

true, the authors have attempted to limit themselves to what they call the "somatopsychological relation," the psychological and sociological significance of physique. They have further limited themselves to aspects of the problem which have recently been under investigation—to a critical review of the present state of knowledge. The study contains chapters dealing with the physical factors of size, muscular strength, motor ability, auditory impairment, tuberculosis, orthopedic disabilities, and acute illness. Such other factors as age, race, sex, cosmetic defect, blindness, heart disease, diabetes, rheumatism, leprosy, and cancer are mentioned only in passing. This rather arbitrary limitation of the field of study is unfortunate, for the authors have abstracted some general principles which, in all justification to themselves, they should test against the widest possible variety of available material.

Essentially the authors report that persons with various physical disabilities often find themselves in ambiguous situations. Some people will treat those with deficiencies with special deference whereas other people will expect normal behavior of them, and yet others will retain something of the primitive's contempt for the physically defective. Any of these attitudes, but especially a mixture of them in the environment of the handicapped, is liable to be a source of emotional insecurity. As the authors put it: "We suggest that when a person is in a marginal position between an underprivileged and a privileged social position, conflict and 'maladjustment' will result . . . disabilities and experiences that place the individual in marginal situations are in many respects less desirable than those that place an individual in restricted but unambiguous situations."

It is, of course, well known that the physically handicapped present many special problems for the social psychologist. The authors point out that the validity of personality schedules depends upon the extent to which the life situations of the tested individuals are comparable to those of the standard groups. Thus when those with impaired hearing "less often heckle or question a public speaker," one must consider that the significance of this item on the Bernreuter Inventory is different for the deaf than for other individuals. Curiously, the authors fail to consider the possible involvement of direct neurological mechanisms in disease. Thus, encephalitis is not rare in severe polyomyelitis, and personality changes in cripples can often

be ascribed to the sequelae of organic central neural lesions.

If the authors had developed their theories more fully and had tested their chief hypotheses in the light of the evidence from the hundreds of studies which are reviewed, this would have served as a thread to tie their work together. As it is, the presentation lacks adequate unity. Despite reports of interesting studies on nearly every page and a critical approach to the enormous mass of material, the reader will find the going difficult. However, the diligent student who is willing to excuse occasional wandering, repetitiousness, and loose editing will find this work filled with interesting speculations and stimulating suggestions. Psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists will find in the situation of the disabled a new opportunity for testing their own theories. Those engaged in vocational rehabilitation will need this book for reference. They will be particularly interested in the final chapter which reviews studies on employment of the disabled, and will appreciate the bibliography of over 1,000 items from a wide variety of sources, dealing primarily with physical disability in America.

Another special value of this work is that it will stimulate new studies. For example, some among the readers may be inspired to investigate the problem of the effects on the reactions of the handicapped of social and psychological situations operating prior to the onset of disease.

GABRIEL LASKER

Wayne University  
College of Medicine

YOUR CITY TOMORROW. By Guy Greer. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947. 210 pp. \$2.50.

This is the best popular account of modern city planning, its philosophy and procedure, now available. It is in large part a revision and expansion of the articles which Greer wrote for *Fortune* in 1943 and 1944. For introducing the educated citizen and college student to the complexities of urban redevelopment, planning and housing, it is without peer.

Greer is no radical, though his espousal of such essentially conservative measures as the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill will no doubt brand him as such in some circles. He favors extensive financial aid, federal and state, to municipalities but he wants decentralization of planning and program execu-

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tion. His references to TVA as a precedent are suggestive. He recognizes that the nationalization of land is unlikely and undesirable here for some time to come, in contrast with Britain. The importance of organized citizen support is emphasized in Chapter X, "Program for Action," under such topical headings as the weakness of official planning, organizing the citizens, a prize contest as sparkplug, imagination, and common sense. Excellent chapters relate housing and urban planning (the longest chapter in the book), set forth planning research requirements, describe the blight problem, and evaluate the redevelopment activities of such insurance companies as the Metropolitan Life. The Boston contest, won by a team which included sociologist Talcott Parsons, is described along with the prize plan. More books like this are needed, especially in the schools where the skeletons in our urban closets are carefully concealed from the young, and the urban citizen is depicted as a fortunate fellow in a consumers' paradise.

N. J. DEMERATH

*University of North Carolina*

**AMERICAN PLANNING.** By Cleveland Rodgers. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947. 290 pp. \$3.00.

An appreciation of history in relation to the nation's geography is essential to an understanding of planning in America—its past development, its present status, and its future prospects. This is the approach to planning used in this volume. Documenting material is presented to show that planning, viewed in historical perspective, has played a vital role in the development of the country's resources. Indeed, Mr. Rodgers' interpretative comments on the work of Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, and other great figures up to present times present convincing evidence that the study of American planning is a study of the growth of this country.

The evolution of planning as a process of democratic government has not been without controversy. The author significantly records several instances of great advances in resource development which, though long since accepted without question, were once embroiled in public controversy. However, his comments connote the importance of distinguishing between the objectives of these measures and the analytical processes

used in arriving at plans for the development of resources. He uses history to show that while resource development objectives have legitimately become subjects of political debate, the process of planning which is employed in the achievement of the selected objectives repeatedly survives controversy.

A reminder of these historical precedents is a timely contribution. In these days when "isms" are often loosely used, political medicine men can easily make an accepted democratic process—one as tried as planning—appear as a dangerous political tool or even an evil subversive element. *American Planning* demonstrates that democratic planning has no political affiliation nor does it impose any particular system or ideology on people. However, Mr. Rodgers warns that "democratic planning is difficult because it must start from the premise that only plans which promise maximum benefits and freedoms to the maximum number of people" will be acceptable to and consistent with the beliefs of the American people.

Although this volume will be interesting to those who are professionally active in the field of planning, particularly in its capacity for ferreting out numerous historical precedents and parallels for many current day planning problems, it possesses special appeal for the layman. From his vantage point as a member of New York City's Planning Commission Mr. Rodgers is in an excellent position to translate technical problems and trends of planning into terms understandable to the reading public.

The book is a commentary on American planning as viewed by an airman of World War II returning to the U. S. A. We are introduced to the young aviator while he is in flight pondering many questions about the world to which he is returning. As the geography of the country so familiar from long hours of training flights takes shape, we experience with him an avalanche of questions as to the growth and development of a nation occupying this terrain. Mr. Rodgers thus uses this aviator's dilemma as a device for roughing out his own concepts of American planning. Although the incidental story of the airman making convenient stop-over tours of various cities and sections of the country will seem somewhat improbable, the use of this device simplifies the author's task of presenting the evolution of planning in terms of geography and history and of developing



an appreciation of the importance of planning to our national well-being.

F. STUART CHAPIN, JR.

*Tennessee Valley Authority*

**SMALL TOWN.** By Granville Hicks. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1946. 276 pp. \$3.00.

Books about small towns and rural culture enjoy a special vogue as we grope for moorings and meanings in our mass society. Similarly, the position of the intellectual is probably receiving more attention following the work of Mannheim and Toynbee, among others. The gulf between sociology and the humanities is nowhere more evident than in this literature. Differences in approach, vocabulary, findings, and interpretation almost preclude communication between sociologists and the humanities' scholars, not to mention possible corroboration and synthesis. That the gulf can be bridged, however, Granville Hicks has demonstrated in his latest product. Always a literary critic and writer of interest to many social scientists, Hicks' *Small Town* should gain for him an even larger audience.

Critical sociologists will detect dubious observations and logic, loose organization and generalization in a book that sacrifices rigor of method for impressionistic and highly personalized thought. At the same time they will find a noteworthy attempt to comprehend the meaningful and subjective side of this up-state New York town. In this connection Chapters VI and VIII, "The Mind of Roxborough" and "Institutions and People," are of particular interest and, in the reviewer's opinion, are the best of the twelve chapters. Hicks' treatment of the group and the individual, primary controls and cumulative relationships, class, migration and depression impacts, values and institutions reflect considerable familiarity with sociological research. In particular, he acknowledges his indebtedness to Warner, Whyte, Taylor, West, and Toynbee.

Autobiographical and introspective elements bulk large in the book, so large indeed that one wonders what is Roxborough and what is Hicks, a reaction that led one critic to suggest that the title would better have been "Hicksborough"! Even so, as an autobiographical document the book has real significance. Hicks returns again and again with painful honesty to his own position in the community, his acceptance and rejection of Communist Party objectives, his childhood and subse-

quent development. His revelations are grist for a social psychologist's mill, especially in the chapter entitled "The Natural History of an Intellectual." As he roundly denounces the intellectuals who never get away from their metropolitan centers or from their own kind, it is clear that Hicks feels he has made the break and has learned much about the United States in the microcosm of Roxborough. The reviewer would agree. *Small Town* should prove valuable to students of the small community and urbanism, as well as to those who seek perspective on their own lives and times.

N. J. DEMERATH

*University of North Carolina*

**SMALL COMMUNITIES IN ACTION.** By Jean and Jess Ogden. New York: Harper, 1946. 244 pp. \$3.00.

**THE SMALL COMMUNITY LOOKS AHEAD.** By Wayland J. Hayes. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1947. 276 pp. \$3.00.

The appearance of these two volumes within a few months of each other serves to highlight the current renaissance of citizen action in communities. Each complements the other to a considerable extent. This is not surprising since the authors have shared some of the same experiences and collaborated for a time in developing community leaders and giving service to a number of localities bent upon improving the ways of living of their people.

Both volumes focus on small communities to the extent of being specific in this regard in the title. This restriction to small communities is helpful since planning in cities has received attention for a number of decades, while the Agricultural Extension Service and other federal agencies have done extensive work in farming communities of scattered population. To considerable extent both of these volumes focus on the "in-between" communities which have been the twilight zone in community organization.

The volumes are similar in their practicality and in their use of examples. This is especially true of the Ogdens. Neither book is weak in sociological theory, although theoretical implications are developed much more fully by Hayes. The Ogdens use almost no footnotes. It is a report on their experience with communities. They present a bibliography of 13 books which they consider to be basic. On the other hand Hayes uses frequently

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documentation with no bibliography. So much for general similarities and contrasts.

Jess and Jean Ogden have served for the past five years as associates in adult education in the Extension Division of the University of Virginia. In this capacity they have initiated and conducted a comprehensive experiment in discovering more effective ways of helping communities to help themselves. The success stories of community improvement activities in 34 localities are presented in *Small Communities in Action*. According to the authors: "Viewed collectively, they offer an optimistic bit of evidence of democracy triumphant. They furnish first-hand proof of the ability of people living at the grass roots to develop new patterns of cooperation, new ways of bettering their community life" (p. xi). The stories are arranged under these headings: making a better living, planning for health and social well-being, increasing civic awareness, living a more abundant life, and implementing community programs. Helpful generalizations are suggested under this last topic where the experience of a number of communities is analyzed in connection with selected techniques.

The Ogdens hold that formal *structure* for community organization is usually unnecessary and may often be detrimental in the long run. Their emphasis on *process* is good, but one wonders if more attention to structure is not needed when the community is not of the simplest type and when the problem being attacked is of a serious nature. People living together have established a number of agencies to meet their essential needs. As society becomes more complex the problem of improving ways of living increasingly becomes one of coordination of agency programs and services, rather than direct action by informal citizen groups. If there is to be citizen participation in this kind of coordination, there must be some type of administrative mechanism such as a community council. The Ogdens do not recognize this or at most see it as of minor significance, rather giving emphasis to techniques for direct community action. One hopes also that they will experiment with some of the recently developed sociometric techniques for leadership analysis.

Professor Hayes of Vanderbilt University, in *The Small Community Looks Ahead*, inquires into the nature of communities—how they came to be as they are and how they change. It, too, is designed for the practical purpose of helping people who

want to improve their communities. There are general chapters on the small community in new perspective, the structure and functions of small communities, the process of community evolution, community life and leadership, techniques and tools of creative leadership. More specialized chapters follow on the planning process in Tennessee Valley communities, the University and the small community (in which discussion of the pioneer work of the University of Michigan is unfortunately omitted), and citizens' workshops. The chapter on leadership would have been stronger had it drawn upon the work of the sociometrists and upon such recent related studies as Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals* and Huszar, *Applications of Democracy*.

Both volumes have a concluding chapter which serves to summarize and look into the future of the development of small communities in American society. Both volumes maintain that the small community holds a strategic position in a democratic society. Both emphasize the current importance of rapid social change alongside the social inertia and complexity delaying planned efforts to adjust to social change. The authors of each book stress the need for comprehensive rather than segmented community planning. The important role of the educational process is recognized equally in each volume.

GORDON W. BLACKWELL

*University of North Carolina*

#### CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION.

By Hermann Mannheim. International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946. 290 pp. \$4.00.

This book may be classified as a study in social planning with reference to the criminal law and criminal procedure. The underlying proposition is that the criminal law in the principal nations has become petrified and is unable to cope with the changing problems of the modern world. In a survey of problems concerned with human life, sexual and family life, property, labor, and other values, the author concludes that the scope of the criminal law should be greatly modified, that some behavior which are crimes should not be crimes and some which are not crimes should be crimes. Approximately two-thirds of the space in this section is devoted to economic crimes, and the conclusion is reached that the main emphasis of the criminal

law should be transferred from theft and other petty economic crimes to the more complicated and dangerous types of white collar crimes.

In a second part of this analysis the author advocates modifications in criminal procedure which are designed to make the criminal law more scientific and more democratic; also, international cooperation is advocated as a part of the social planning in the criminal law. In this analysis the author defines the place of the expert in criminal procedure, of the lay magistrate, of the jury, and of the attorney for the defendant, and in general advocates the development of the treatment tribunal.

The author explains that this book is designed to introduce the popular reader to a social philosophy. If the book is appraised in terms of this objective, it should be rated as an excellent analysis of social problems and of comparative criminal laws relating to these problems. At the same time, the analysis will not be convincing to those who oppose the recommendations, or even to those who insist that the recommendations be based on carefully organized research studies in the sociology of law.

EDWIN H. SUTHERLAND

*Indiana University*

**DELINQUENT GIRLS IN COURT: A STUDY OF THE WAYWARD MINOR COURT OF NEW YORK.** By Paul W. Tappan. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. 265 pp. \$3.00.

This study is primarily a functional, sociological analysis of the purposes, policies, and procedures of the Wayward Minor Court of New York City. It is not a series of case studies of delinquent girls, as one might expect from the title, but a case study of a particular, experimental court. The Wayward Minor Court is a special part of the Women's Court, and was set up in 1936 to handle cases of delinquent girls (chiefly sex delinquents) between the ages of 16 and 21. Since this court is intermediate between the adult Women's Court and the children's court, it is inevitable that there should be confusion of purposes in attempting to reconcile the viewpoint, purposes, and techniques of a criminal court and those of the children's court in dealing with "wayward minors." Certain practices of the Wayward Minor Court resemble criminal jurisprudence, while others resemble the social clinic or case study approach found in the children's court. Both viewpoints are needed.

Workers in such a court should have "homogenized training in sociology and law." The author suggests that social workers are too loose and imprecise in their thinking about the function and purpose of a court, and are constantly devising ways of evading legal safeguards—thought of as "technicalities"—of court procedure. He opposes "unofficial" handling of cases, and even rules out social investigation of cases preliminary to the hearing. "Unofficial treatment" is described as "a bastard spawn of court and case work, evasive of the law, inappropriate as therapy, expansive of jurisdiction."

While social workers on the whole would regard the writer's views as too legalistic, they would do well to read this stimulating treatise, for perhaps social workers have frequently gone too far in the opposite direction.

WILEY B. SANDERS

*University of North Carolina*

**THE PENITENTIARY MOVEMENT IN DELAWARE, 1776 TO 1829.** By Robert Graham Caldwell. Wilmington, Delaware: Historical Society of Delaware, Old Town Hall, 1946. 251 pp. \$3.00.

Our better understanding of the forces that have shaped and are shaping our procedures and facilities for dealing with criminals depends upon the willingness of men like Dr. Caldwell to grub out and analyze the facts that are interred in obscure and often scattered records.

In the early nineteenth century Philadelphia was the center of the American reform movement in penology, and Pennsylvania was developing a new penitentiary system, while Delaware, which had also been part of Penn's colony, was adopting a reactionary criminal code and fastening upon itself its still existing county jail system. How did this cultural divergence come about in states that were once part of the same colony? In this small volume, which represents a good bit of conscientious, scholarly labor, Dr. Caldwell presents the results of his examination of the primary manuscript and printed sources bearing upon this question.

His major conclusion, which seems well buttressed with evidence, is that Delaware's laws and penal institutions were given their foundation and their character by the non-Quaker British majority, and especially by that part of it in the conservative rural counties of Kent and Sussex.



The geographical isolation of the Lower Counties (Delaware) from the Province (Pennsylvania), political jealousy, rural independence, all tended early to develop the anti-Quaker sentiment of the Lower Counties and to favor the formal separation of the two areas. The severe English penal code, including many capital crimes and the common use of corporal punishments, had been established with modifications in Delaware under the Duke of York (1664-1682). Although these laws were replaced by the milder laws of the Quakers when the territory was deeded to Penn in 1682, they were apparently not welcomed by the people of the Lower Counties, who, after obtaining a separate assembly, reenacted a more severe code.

After the establishment of a separate constitution for Delaware in 1776, the conflict over penal reform continued within the state between the Quakers, settled largely in the northerly area nearest to Philadelphia, and the non-Quakers in the more remote counties. Since the State constitution provided that all counties have equal representation in the State legislature, Kent and Sussex were able to combine their votes to block efforts at penal reform that received support in New Castle County, in which nearness to the influence of Philadelphia, urbanization, and heterogeneity of population favored reform movements.

In contrast to the failure of the penitentiary movement in Delaware, its early establishment in Pennsylvania and its subsequent acceptance, modification and development throughout Western civilization during the nineteenth century, serves to underline the social intelligence and progressiveness of the Quaker reformers.

A good index and the reprinting of important documents in Appendix A serve to increase the value of Dr. Caldwell's work to the student of penology.

ALBERT MORRIS

*Boston University*

**SLAVE AND CITIZEN. THE NEGRO IN THE AMERICAS.**

By Frank Tannenbaum. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947. 128 pp. \$2.00.

The Western Hemisphere was settled by Europeans and Africans. The former group came to this continent to seek wealth, political, social, and economic freedom; the Negroes were forced to come here as slaves to do the manual labor and unskilled work for the Europeans. The area of

concentration of the slave population was between Rio de Janeiro and Washington, D. C. Dr. Frank Tannenbaum in his book, *Slave and Citizen. The Negro in the Americas*, tells in a scholarly manner of the different attitudes of the Caucasians toward the slaves in this area. He is of the opinion that within this arch of slavery there existed two different ideologies concerning the treatment and abolition of slavery. This dissimilarity was the result of diverse ethical beliefs in this region. A quotation from his introduction will illustrate this hypothesis. For it is stated, "For if one thing stands out clearly from the study of slavery, it is that the definition of man as a moral being proved the most important influence both in the treatment of the slave and in the final abolition of slavery" (p. vii).

Dr. Tannenbaum shows that the Iberian people's conception of slavery was supported upon the social thought of Cicero, the Justinian Codes, and the Church Fathers. As to slavery, Cicero said, it is the result of misfortune, but "we must bear in mind that justice is due even to the lowest of mankind; and nothing can be lower than the condition and fortune of a slave." This Ciceronian idea of slavery "came down through the Justinian Codes to the Spanish people," says Dr. Tannenbaum, and "in this Code there is inherent belief in the equality of men under the law of nature, and slavery, therefore, is something against both nature and reason."

The Church Fathers conceived of slavery as being sanctioned by God, but as Saint Paul said, "In the sight of God, 'there is neither bond nor free'." It is impossible to give all comments of the Medieval Christian leaders on this topic, but Saint Augustine, in his *City of God*, gives a much better discussion, when he says, "... although our righteous fathers had slaves, and administered their domestic affairs so as to distinguish between the conditions of slaves and heirship of son in regard to the blessings of this life, yet in regard to the worship of God... they took an equal loving oversight of all members of their household."

The above social thoughts permeated the moral and legal mores of the Mediterranean world for many centuries. Thus, it happened that when the Iberian race came to the Western Hemisphere to settle, "Spanish law, customs, and traditions," says Dr. Tannenbaum, "were transferred to

America and came to govern the position of the Negro slaves."

Not only is the above true, but the author points out that the Spanish moral conception of slavery made it easy for the slave to change from bondage to full citizenship. For the slave, in the Iberian colonies, was never considered as a mere chattel, never defined as inanimate property, and never under the law treated as such; he had both judicial and moral personality, even while in bondage.

In contrasting the attitude of the slaveholders in the United States with the ones in South America, Dr. Tannenbaum sees a wide difference in the two systems. It is stated, "The law, the Church, and social policy all conspired to prevent the identification of the Negro with the community" [In the United States]. Here the Negro slaves were reduced to a beast of the field.

The author fails to give the social thought behind the southern concept of slavery. He could have shown that the slaveholders in the United States had an Aristotelian idea of the Negro slave. Dr. Williams S. Jenkins writes, in his *Pro-slavery Thought in the Old South* (p. 137), "The Aristotelian influence upon Southern thought was strong and may be traced through much of the pro-slavery literature. Probably to no other thinker in the history of the world did the slaveholder owe the great debt that he owed to Aristotle." Accordingly, Aristotle's version of the slave and his place in society is expressed in his *Politics* when he said that from the hour of man's birth, some are marked for subjection (the slave) and others for rule (the citizen). He states further that mechanical employments were unworthy of a free man and in order to be a citizen one should be free from labors necessary for the maintenance of life. This Aristotelian concept lacks the moral values of man that were expressed by Cicero, the Justinian Code, and the Church Fathers. For this reason Dr. Tannenbaum feels that the Negro was prevented from becoming completely free.

The book should be read by all those persons who are working for better race relations in the South, because they could learn much from the Latin-Americans' ideologies of the Negro problem.

TINSLEY L. SPRAGGINS

St. Augustine's College

JESSE BUEL, AGRICULTURAL REFORMER. By Harry J. Carman. Columbia University Studies in the History of American Agriculture, No. 12. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. 609 pp. \$6.75.

This includes selections from the writings of Jesse Buel, a man who at the beginning of the nineteenth century became a leading proponent of improved American rural life all the way from manuring, drainage, and crop rotation to moral attitudes, use of foot warmers by country women, and regular church attendance. Carman, well-known for his distinguished contributions to American rural social science, such as the recent publication of the anonymous Franklinesque *American Husbandry*, selects and edits the writings and precedes them with a short life of this American Hesiod-Cato.

Outside of the fact that good history, in general, ought to be more widely known and basically used in genetic theories in both agricultural economics and rural sociology—not to mention in that austere system of dogmatics called general sociology—the book is important from a number of points of view. First, it shows how the sons of the medieval peasants, when migrating to the rich new lands of America, substituted carelessness and exploitation for their previously extremely impoverished agrarian technique. This practice, with its subsequent ruination of the soil, timber, and natural resources in the East, led to the use of modern science to save the farms, [as well as the Greeley slogan, "Go West, young man (and ruin more soil)"]. Third, it shows how adequate scientific agrarian knowledge was at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a condition which was only to be disturbed by machine agriculture up to the present agrarian revolution. [The present new revolution is based upon hybridization and the Mendelian control of plant and animal genes.] Finally, it gives a resumé of the Jeffersonian agrarian fundamentalism of the early nineteenth century, a system of philosophy now apparently completely and utterly estranged from agricultural thought in this brave new world of limited "economic" production.

The reviewer's impression is that there is too much repetitious selection and too little sociological or "cultural historical" analysis in the work. Buel was a man of vision and of understanding of the mass mind. He had a limited number of

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basic principles, to most of which he returned endlessly in every speech and document. In the reviewer's opinion, quotations from Buel should have been compressed, and the introduction elaborated into a sort of "sociology of knowledge" analysis of Buel and his doctrine. The "classical" agriculturalists, the early Renaissance forward-looking husbandrymen, Buel's agrarian leader contemporaries and our modern farm leaders would form a framework for such a comparative work. Such may not be the function of history, as historians define their field. But with sociology and economics ducking the issue, including their present repudiation of the whole genetic method, this fertile field of understanding will apparently be left untilld. This would make Buel very angry if he were alive today.

In explanation of Buel, whose life career very closely paralleled the experiences of both Franklin and Greeley, the introduction is also disappointing. Cliches ("He was hospitable without display, pious without pretension, and learned without pedantry." xxxv) are irritating when offered as a substitute for an attempt at explanation. These cliches are applied to a man who, without schooling, became well-to-do by forty and devoted his life to a new science and its promulgation. Rather than cliches, the reviewer would prefer at least a reasonable hypothesis as to why this unschooled New England printer could, before he dies, quote Homer in a more meaningful manner than probably most any agricultural editor in the United States today.

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

*Harvard University*

## NEW BOOKS RECEIVED

TILL DEATH DO US PART. THE PROPOSED FIVE-YEAR MARRIAGE LAW. By Charles Wesley Amlin. New York: The William-Frederick Press, 1947. 42 pp. \$1.00 (paper).

THE TEXAS CITY OFFICIAL. A DIGEST OF POWERS AND DUTIES. By Lynn F. Anderson and Wilfred D. Webb. (Municipal Studies No. 30.) Austin, Texas: The Bureau of Municipal Research, University of Texas, 1947. 84 pp. \$1.00.

THE POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS OF NEW YORK STATE. By W. A. Anderson. (Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 839.) Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, 1946. 87 pp.

BERLIN UNDERGROUND 1938-1945. By Ruth Andreas-Friedrich. (Tr. by Barrows Mussey.) New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947. 312 pp. \$3.00.

WARTIME SHIPYARD. A STUDY IN SOCIAL DISUNITY. By Katherine Archibald. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1947. 237 pp. \$3.75.

TOWARD WORLD BROTHERHOOD. By Joseph Irvin Arnold. Bridgewater, Massachusetts: Joseph I. Arnold, publisher, 1947. 127 pp.

PEOPLE WHO INTERMARRY. INTERMARRIAGE IN A NEW ENGLAND INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY. By Milton L. Barron. Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1946. 389 pp. \$3.00.

THE WORLD AT THE CROSSROADS. By Anita Blaine and others. Chicago: World Citizens Association, 1946. 106 pp. \$0.25.

A BIBLIOGRAPHIC CLASSIFICATION. VOL. II, CLASSES H-K. THE HUMAN SCIENCES. By Henry Evelyn

Bliss. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1947. 344 pp. \$7.50.

KEEP YOUNG AND BEAUTIFUL. By N. G. T. Bombay, India; Thacker & Co., Ltd., 1944. 17 pp.

BOOKS FROM CHAPEL HILL. A RECORD AND CATALOGUE OF TWENTY-FOUR YEARS OF PUBLISHING. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946. 206 pp. \$1.25 cloth; 50¢ paper.

SPEECH AND HUMAN RELATIONS. AN APPROACH TO THE PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS INVOLVED IN EFFECTIVE ORAL COMMUNICATION. By Joseph G. Brin. Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc., 1946. 166 pp. \$2.50.

EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY. By Francis J. Brown. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947. 626 pp. \$5.35.

RECIDIVISM. A SOCIO-LEGAL SURVEY OF ITS DEFINITION, INCIDENCE AND TREATMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. By George K. Brown. (An Essential Portion of a Dissertation in Sociology.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1947. 46 pp.

A HISTORY OF THE PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION. By John S. Brubacher. 1st ed. New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1947. 688 pp. \$4.00.

HUMAN BREEDING AND SURVIVAL. By Guy Irving Burch and Elmer Pendell. New York: Penguin Books, Inc., 1947. 144 pp. \$0.25.

OUR RURAL COMMUNITIES. A GUIDEBOOK TO PUBLISHED MATERIALS ON RURAL PROBLEMS. By Laverne Burchfield. Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1947. 201 pp. \$2.50.



- STEPPING STONES TOWARDS THE FUTURE.** By Arthur F. Burns. Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the National Bureau of Economic Research. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., 1947. 91 pp.
- JESSE BUEL, AGRICULTURAL REFORMER.** Selections from His Writings. Edited by Harry J. Carman. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. 609 pp. \$6.75.
- COMMUNISTS WITHIN THE LABOR MOVEMENT. THE FACTS AND COUNTER-MEASURES.** Washington, D.C.: Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1947. 54 pp. \$0.50, single copies; quantity discount.
- WAGE DETERMINATION AND THE ECONOMICS OF LIBERALISM (FIRST 1947 ECONOMIC INSTITUTE).** Washington, D. C.: Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1947. 105 pp. \$1.00, single copies; quantity discount.
- THE PRACTICE OF SEX EDUCATION. A PLAIN GUIDE FOR PARENTS AND TEACHERS.** By Eustace Chesser and Zoe Dawe. New York: Roy Publishers, 1946. 227 pp. \$3.00.
- THE PROBLEM OF REDUCING VULNERABILITY TO ATOMIC BOMBS.** By Ansley J. Coale. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1947. 116 pp. \$2.00.
- MEMORANDUM ON UNIVERSITY RESEARCH PROGRAMS IN THE FIELD OF LABOR.** Washington, D. C.: Committee on Labor Market Research, Social Science Research Council, 1947. 42 pp.
- THE NET INCOME OF THE PUERTO RICAN ECONOMY 1940-1944.** By Daniel Creamer. Rio Piedras: Social Science Research Center, University of Puerto Rico, 1947. 96 pp. \$0.50.
- SOCIOLOGY. A SYNOPSIS OF PRINCIPLES.** By John F. Cuber. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1947. 590 pp. \$4.00.
- REFUGEES IN AMERICA. REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE STUDY OF RECENT IMMIGRATION FROM EUROPE.** By Maurice R. Davie. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947. 453 pp. \$4.50.
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- FATHER OF THE MAN. HOW YOUR CHILD GETS HIS PERSONALITY.** By W. Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947. 245 pp. \$2.75.
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- OPERATIONAL RESEARCH AND ACTION RESEARCH.** By H. A. C. Doble. Washington, D. C.: Institute of Ethnic Affairs, 1947. 21 pp. \$0.25 (paper).
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- EDUCATION FOR UNITY IN THE SCHOOLS OF NEW YORK STATE. A REPORT ON THE PROGRAM OF INTERGROUP EDUCATION IN NEW YORK STATE SCHOOLS.** Albany, New York: The University of the State of New York, 1947. 104 pp.
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- THE INDIVIDUAL, THE STATE, AND WORLD GOVERNMENT.** By A. C. Ewing. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. 322 pp. \$4.00.
- SANCTUARY.** By William Faulkner. New York: Penguin Books, Inc., 1947. 188 pp. \$0.25.
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- ARKANSAS.** By John Gould Fletcher. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947. 421 pp. \$5.00.
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- THE EPIC OF FREEDOM.** By John T. Flynn. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Fireside Press, Inc., 1947. 127 pp. \$2.00.
- THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES: A BIBLIOGRAPHY. A SELECT REFERENCE AND MINIMUM COLLEGE LIBRARY RESOURCES LIST.** By Paul B. Foreman and Mozell C. Hill. Bulletin, Vol. 44, No. 5. Stillwater: Oklahoma A. and M. College, 1947. 24 pp.
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- THE SECURITIES BUSINESS COMES OF AGE.** By Elizabeth Frazer. Leonia, N. J.: Library Associates, 1947. 58 pp.
- THE PICNIC BOOK.** By Clark L. Fredrikson. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1942. 128 pp.
- THEY ALMOST KILLED HITLER.** By Gero v. S. Gaevernitz. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. 150 pp. \$2.50.

- PHILOSOPHY AND THE SOCIAL ORDER. By George R. Geiger. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947. 407 pp. \$3.25.
- MOCHE, A PERUVIAN COASTAL COMMUNITY. By John Gillin. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947. 166 pp. \$1.00 (paper). (Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology Publication No. 3).
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